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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 September 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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WARSAW PACT SPECIAL-PURPOSE NAVAL VESSELS DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 27, No 6, Jun 84 pp 316-319

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "Little-Known Vessels of the Warsaw Pact Navies; A Contribution to Ship Recognition on NATO's Northern Flank"]

[Text] The intensified buildup of the naval combat forces of the Warsaw Pact countries--referring specifically to the Soviet forces--has introduced a new element into the balance of forces. A characteristic feature of this new element is the aggregate of ship classes and class variants which hitherto have been either unknown or little known. They have been steadily increasing in numbers. There are various reasons why they have thus far received very little publicity or none at all. First of all, the ships involved are not primary types of surface battleship; the continuous surveillance of the development and use of these latter obviously absorbs so much attention that lower-rank ship classes probably receive less attention than they often merit. Moreover, to a large extent one is dealing with units which play a "solo role"; they are present only as individual exemplars. And finally, many of these units occur within regional confines so that they are but rarely detectable.

Therefore it is no wonder that such little-known or still totally unknown ship classes are inadequately documented in international naval handbooks. It is true that they are occasionally mentioned in these works but there are rarely illustrations of their appearance. A typical example would be the former FK speedboats of the KOMAR class which have been modified into lead-ship vessels: no "Weyer," no "Jane's Fighting Ships" and no "Flottes de Combat" contains a picture of this version even though it is clearly different from the previously familiar design. Thus the user of these handbooks is left to assume that both designs are identical. There are more such inadequacies in maritime reporting. The spectrum of ship types which are involved is broad, extending from submarines to auxiliary vessels. This paper therefore aims at at least partially introducing these largely unknown or little-known vessels in order to facilitate their identification in future.

Submarines

Easy as it was at the outset of their service history to identify submarines of the GOLF class equipped with strategic missile systems, today on the other

hand it is difficult to classify them. This is true not only of the GOLF I and GOLF II variants (because of their largely identical appearance they may be omitted from this discussion) but also of the subsequent versions deriving from them, namely GOLF III and GOLF IV,* together with a disassembled version. In the case of GOLF III and GOLF IV the difficulty is that new missile sections have evidently been added to them with a consequent lengthening of the hull. This in addition involved an enlargement or lengthening and partial reconstruction of the conning tower. Since then GOLF III and GOLF IV present an appearance bordering on the bizarre. Both of them look unusually long and this impression is strengthened in the case of GOLF III by the elongated conning tower. The situation is similar with GOLF IV except that the conning tower is not quite so long and also has a shape clearly differing from the GOLF III. As seen by an aerial observer both these class variants are striking in appearance because of their exaggerated spindle shape. The length-to-breadth ratio is about 14.5:1. Despite their basic similarity both versions have quite characteristic features which are made clear by our sketches. Three units are now placed in the GOLF class but without the addition of a number. These are ships which after expansion of their missile-carrying facilities have been adapted to use as lead-ship submarines. Externally this function is disclosed by the presence of telecommunications antennas for which a separate tower-like construction has been installed aft.

A quite similar development is apparent in the HOTEL class submarines which are nuclear-driven and equipped with nuclear strategic missile systems. One of these was modified more than a decade ago for use as a test platform for the "SS-N-8" nuclear strategic missile system which was just then coming into use. In this modification the previous three missile tubes were replaced by a double number. This was accompanied by a lengthening of the conning tower. Since then this unit which in NATO is designated as the HOTEL III class (only one is involved) has made its appearance as a linearly enlarged edition of the HOTEL II class. Here, too, as seen by aircraft crews the exaggeratedly slender spindle shape is unmistakable--the length-to-breadth ratio is about 14:1. A further feature is the strikingly far forward position of the conning tower: the hull behind the tower is several times longer than previously.

There is another unit** which is evidently assigned a lead-ship function. After expansion of the missile weaponry a flat structure was installed behind the clearly diminished conning tower. This flat structure is evidently being used to house telecommunications buoys. This structure has in principle a certain resemblance to the missile "saddle" of nuclear strategic submarines so that it may happen that a sighting of this unit might result in an erroneous identification as a nuclear strategic submarine.

* Here we must omit the GOLF V version because no pictures of it are available. The GOLF V functions as a test platform for the latest nuclear strategic missile "SS-N-20."

** There exists the possibility that this unit is identical with that HOTEL II submarine which was observed in the north Atlantic in the spring of 1972 while subject to heavy damage. Its missile system was then probably expanded in the course of repair operations.

Missile [FK] Speedboats

There is probably only one instance left of a missile speedboat of the OSA II class, on whose superstructure deck a deckhouse has been installed (possibly this represents a container, perhaps holding electronic equipment or telecommunications devices). Probably this boat is used for search or reconnaissance. It appears hardly likely that this craft will be continued on a mass-production scale, particularly as the height of this superstructure would certainly create stability problems.

Torpedo Speedboats

The prototype boat of the Polish WISLA class is still in service. This differs from the mass-production design in its differing hull shape, differing pilot house, differing mast and also through its different electronics and secondary weaponry. Instead of the POT DRUM radar it is still carrying the older POT HEAD radar and in place of the 30-mm twin antiaircraft gun it has the older 25-mm twin antiaircraft gun.

Antimine Defense Ships

In 1980 for the first time a high-seas mine-search boat of the Soviet NATYA class appeared in modified design. This boat lacks the two 25-mm double gun mounts of the secondary armament and also the two "RBU-1200" antisubmarine rocket launchers. For this purpose a deckhouse was erected on the orlop deck which by all appearances serves to house mine detection equipment and/or mine divers. Antiaircraft capability has been enhanced through the creation of two positions for "SA-N-5" quadruple launching devices (at both sides on the end of the bridge superstructures). At the same time an additional mast has been installed forward. This design has been designated by NATO as the NATYA II class; the previous NATYA class has been renamed as the NATYA I class. Up to now this NATYA II class has made its appearance only as a single exemplar; all evidence indicates that it is performing the function of a mine detection ship. It may be expected that at the appropriate time further units will follow--sometime after conclusion of the tests, if the first ship actually serves as a test platform.

Almost unknown to the public there has been an improved series of the VANYA class. This class originated in the sixties and the improved series is designated by NATO as the VANYA II class. This differs from its predecessors, hitherto called the VANYA I class, not only in its greater dimensions but also externally. This external difference is a tubular engine exhaust stack at the end of the port deck. Another difference is the swan-neck crane at the stern.

Equally little known (although they have been in service since the seventies) are on the one hand the coastal mine detection boats of the ILYUSHA class and on the other hand the minesweeping boats of the OLYA class. It is conjectured that the ILYUSHA vessels are designed as remotely controlled "drones" for unmanned minesweeping use and that their 10-man crews are on board only during travel from and to the area of operations. These boats are characterized externally by their tripod mast which is quite striking when compared with the

size and dimensions of the boats but which is entirely appropriate in this shape because the mast must carry the antenna systems of the remote radio control.

The still somewhat smaller OLYA class is evidently to be used only in the narrower waters of Soviet territory. Characteristic features of these boats are the steadily rising hull from aft forward and the relatively large bridge with its sharply inclined piling mast stayed at the rear by one supporting leg. There is also their 25-mm antiaircraft twin gun forward.

The designation BALTICA class denotes a vessel which has been built as a trawler in the class of the same name and which has similarity with the new SIGINT ships of the ALPINIST-MOD class. This vessel serves as an auxiliary antimine ship and possibly represents an experimental model with which experience is being gathered in the minesweeping use of trawlers in a mobilization situation. Its external features are the complex bridge construction with two exhaust stacks at its ends and the inclined piling mast between them followed, after a fairly large gap, by the portal tower with its loading equipment. Finally, the hauling gear at the stern should be noted.

In the ANDRYUSHA class which has been known since 1975 there has probably been developed a type which is to be classed as an antimine vessel only conditionally. The specific task for which this class was developed is unknown. The original view is no longer held that these units are involved in a cable-sweeping operation. The vague classification as a "experimental boat for interdiction weapons" can hardly provide a complete explanation. One thing certain is the fact that the smokestack in these units does not serve to carry off exhaust gases from the propulsion plant (these escape from lateral openings in the hull) but must provide exhaust from a gas turbine generator of not inconsiderable power. The electrical energy produced by this generator may--according to American sources, serve the purpose of establishing a magnetic field or some other form of defense system against mines employing magnetic detonation systems. Because only two or three units are assigned to this class one must assume that thus far they have not been successful and are therefore no longer being built. But the possibility should not be excluded that they represent experimental boats with which tests are to be carried out over long periods of time. The external features of this class are: the bridge superstructure which takes up almost the entire breadth of the upper deck, the multileg mast on top of it, the smokestack which follows it and which terminates in a fin, and a cable-guidance shaft which follows the superstructure height profile on both sides. The boats carry no armament. At the same time a pedestal located forward suggests that in the event of mobilization a light-caliber antiaircraft weapon, possibly a 25-mm twin, would be posted on this pedestal.

Radar Early Warning Ships

After some high-seas mine-search boats of the T-43 class had already been converted in the sixties to radar early warning ships, since the beginning of the eighties there have also been emerging similarly converted high-seas mine-search boats of the T-58 class. Generally they are the same as the radar

early warning ships of the T-43 class equipped with the BIG NET radar but they are considerably different in silhouette. In the case of the T-58 units the smokestack is much less apparent because of the substantially larger bridge superstructures and its position is also not as far aft as it is on the T-43 boats. But primarily the appearance is determined by the big deckhouse erected aft. This is further underscored by a striking mast design which serves to carry a BIG NET radar and also by a tall latticed topmast. Also striking is a cubical deckhouse aft; certain features indicate that this is a container--probably for electronic equipment. Attention should also be drawn to the two 30-mm antiaircraft twin guns which terminate the newly erected deckhouse aft.

The Polish Navy has also lately been in possession of a radar early warning ship. Following a Soviet prototype this ship has been produced by adapting a high-seas mine-search vessel of the Soviet T-43 class which was built in Poland during the fifties. This vessel--here we're referring to the TUR--received aft a four-leg latticed mast on the uppermost platform of which a large radar device has been installed. This device is considerably different from the Soviet BIG NET radar and therefore cannot be interchanged with the latter because it is equipped with a parabolic reflecting antenna.* The rear 37-mm antiaircraft gun has been improved as has likewise all the mine-search and minesweeping equipment. A large electronics container has been set up on the work deck. It is connected through cable-guidance cords with the already-mentioned revolving search radar. A striking feature of this container is the multitude of external vertical stiffening ribs.

Fig. 1. Little-known ship types of the Warsaw Pact naval combat forces (uniform scale 1:1,000).



Soviet Union: GOLF III class (missile submarine/test platform)



Soviet Union: OSA II class (missile speedboats/test boat)

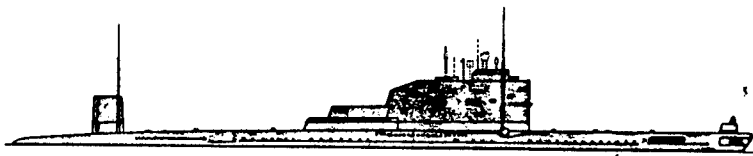


Soviet Union: GOLF IV class (missile submarine/test platform)



Poland: WISLA class (torpedo speedboat/prototype)

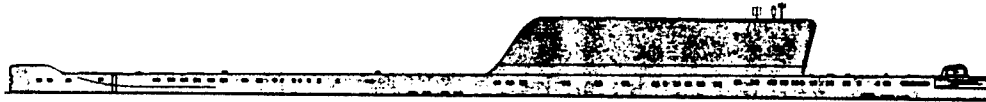
* This device is unique in the navies of the Warsaw Pact countries. At the present time it has not been possible to assign it to a radar system employed in the land combat forces.



Soviet Union: GOLF class (lead-ship submarines/
former missile submarines)



Soviet Union: OLYA
class (minesweeping
boats)



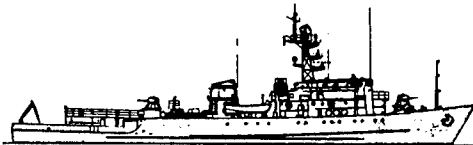
Soviet Union: HOTEL III class (missile submarines/test platform)



Soviet Union: HOTEL class (lead-ship submarines/former
missile submarine)



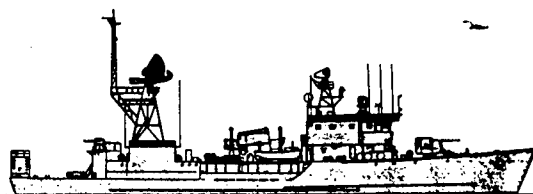
Soviet Union: BAL-
TIKA class (auxiliary
mine-search boat/here
shown in civilian de-
sign as fisheries
vessel)



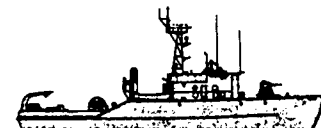
Soviet Union: NATYA II class (mine
detection boats/former mine-search boats)



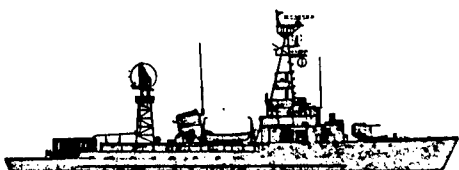
Soviet Union: IL-
YUSHA class (mine de-
tection boats)



Soviet Union: T-58 class (radar early
warning ships)



Soviet Union: VANYA
II class (coastal
mine-search boats)



Poland: TUR (T-43 class) (radar
early warning ship)



Soviet Union: ANDRYUSHA class
(special mine-search boats)

ZHIVKOV PRESENTS DIMITROV PRIZES

AU042015 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 84

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, presented the Dimitrov prizes of 1984 to writers and to outstanding creative workers in science, technology, literature, arts, and architecture.

In his greeting address, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that these prizes are being presented on the eve of a great and remarkable jubilee--the 40th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution.

During the 40 years that have elapsed, our socialist economy has developed at dynamic rates of speed, he stated. Bulgarian culture, science, and education have achieved true prosperity, Todor Zhivkov added.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov further stated in his address that with each passing year the award of the Dimitrov prizes marks the next, higher step in the intellectual upsurge of the socialist Bulgarian nation and reflects our people's increased opportunities for creative research, innovations, and discoveries. It is precisely this that makes the high Dimitrov award a nationwide recognition, which even further obligates us, our first party and state leader said.

We are confident that the future achievements of our writers, painters, artists, composers, architects, scientists, engineers, inventors, and others will be even greater, because the opportunities of arts and science are inexhaustible in the free, creative efforts of each nation that has chosen the path of socialism and communism and is proceeding along this path.

In closing his address, Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished the prize winners new successes for the sake of the well-being and prosperity of our beloved socialist motherland.

Corresponding member Prof Pavel Markov expressed gratitude on behalf of the winners.

The 1984 Dimitrov Prize winners were cordially congratulated also by the Comrades Georgi Dzhagarov, Mitko Grigorov, Peko Takov, and Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairman of the State Council.

BOZHINOV WRITES ON METALLURGY SUCCESSES

AU060753 Sofia BTA in English 0613 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)--IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT, a weekly magazine of the CC of the BCP, carries an extensive article on the development of Bulgarian metallurgy by Mr Todor Bozhinov, politburo member of the CC of the BCP, deputy premier and minister of energy and raw materials resource.

The author points out that at present the country manufactures steel of over 80 grades and rolled iron and other ferrous metal products of nearly 2,500 profiles and sizes. Apart from the basic non-ferrous metals and various copper-, zinc-, and aluminum-based alloys, non-ferrous metallurgy already produces considerable amounts of chemical compounds (sulphuric acid, zinc sulphate, red lead, etc.) a number of 99.99 purity metals and semi-conductor substances.

Mr Todor Bozhinov points out that open-pit mining has emerged as the principal method in ore production and at present it accounts for some 70 percent of the total ore output. Highly efficient production operations have been introduced in the metal works, such as the technology for furnishing electrodes with protective coating, for refining copper from arsenic, antimony and tin in the converter process, the versive electrolysis of copper and zinc, etc.

The country is already self-sufficient in meeting her needs for rolled ferrous metals, and if we add to that the exchange of metals with the socialist countries, the percentage rises to 80 percent. At present Bulgaria meets all her needs for lead and zinc, 98 percent of her needs for copper, 91 percent of the needs for rolled heavy non-ferrous metals, 100 percent of her needs for rolled aluminum and for a number of chemical and other products.

Mr Todor Bozhinov emphasizes that the task at present is, while maintaining comparatively lower rates of production growth, to secure a maximum quantitative and qualitative satisfaction of the country's needs for a whole range of metals by means of raising the degree of the complex and in-depth processing of metallurgical feedstock, increasing the share of high-quality metals and alloys in the output, and manufacturing a larger proportion of metal products. At this stage metallurgy is due to become a more efficient and profitable industrial branch.

CSO: 2200/200

BULGARIA

DZHUROV MEETS GRADUATES OF MILITARY SCHOOLS IN VARNA

AU011303 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 84

[Text] Students of the Georgi Rakovski higher military school and other higher and secondary military schools, who have been on a visit to Sopot, have arrived in Varna. At a meeting between the graduates of these higher schools and working people in Varna, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of the national defense, delivered a speech emphasizing that the Bulgarian soldiers will continue to be loyal to their people and to the BCP and, shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of the glorious Soviet Army and the other fraternal countries of the Warsaw Pact, will protect the peaceful work of the people.

Following this, the graduates visited the monument of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship in the city. The leaders of the various detachments reported to Comrade Dobri Dzhurov that the march has been successfully completed.

A decision of the Varna Municipal People's Council was read in which the Georgi Rakovski Military Academy and other higher and secondary military schools were presented with the honorary badge of the city on the occasion of the successful graduation of the students and on the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy chairman of the Ministry of Defense; Lieutenant General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the main political administration of the People's Army, deputy ministers, generals and officers, as well as Colonel General Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries attached to the Bulgarian People's Army, also attended the celebration.

CSO: 2200/196

BULGARIA

VARNA CONFERENCE EXPRESSES CONCERN FOR FATE OF JOURNALISTS

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 13 Aug 84 pp 1, 8, 9

[Article by Encho Gospodinov, POGLED political commentator: "Let Us Sound the Alarm, Let Us Fight"]

[Text] Alarm over the fate of progressive and democratic journalists, over the future of peace, and a sense of professional duty last week brought together in Varna journalists from Europe, Asia and Africa, where under the aegis of the International Committee for the Defense of Journalists data were revealed regarding the fate of those whose ideal is truth and freedom.

Let us Forestall the Generals

The hall was electrified at once. With a clear and angry voice the Bulgarian journalist Veselin Yosifov raised his hand and in it everybody saw a press card perforated by a bullet. This card, which those present in the hall looked at in shock, marked the end of a life and the latest murder of a progressive journalist. It belonged to the Palestinian Hannah Muqbil, murdered by agents of the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad, on 3 May 1984 in the Cypriot capital of Nicosia.

It is impossible to write according to protocol about meetings such as the one in Varna.

Information about the event is already known: at the initiative of the regional subcommittee of the International Committee for the Defense of Journalists, representatives of one of the most important (and one of the most hazardous) professions in the world had gathered in Varna to discuss three fundamental questions--the status of journalists in the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean, the political situation in this region in the context of the Soviet proposals for settlement of the Near Eastern problem, and the idea of converting the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

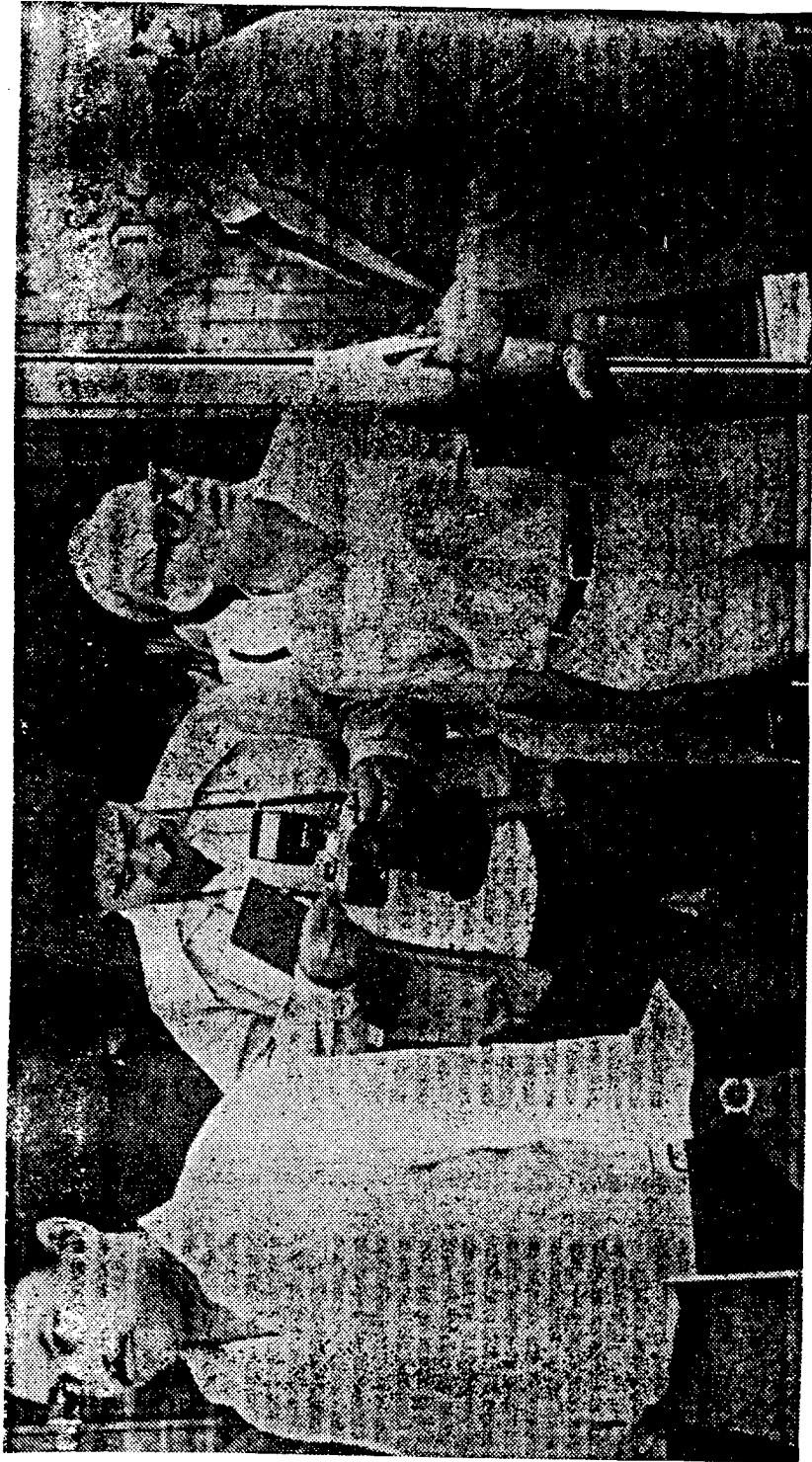
The meeting was opened and presided over by the vice-president of the International Organization of Journalists Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and of the International Committee for the Defense of Journalists. On conclusion of the discussion a Final Document was adopted, which we publish separately [see below].



Nicos Papapericlis of Athenian Union of Journalists: "For 30 years I have fought with my pen and will keep on as long as I am alive."



Manoubi Maroni of Association of Tunisian Journalists: "We must not remain silent when our colleagues are being shot."



The discussion continues. From left to right: Omar el Sori (Federation of Arab Journalists), Muhammad Daudie (Syndicate of Jordanian Journalists), Veselin Yosifov (chairman of Union of Bulgarian Journalists and vice-president of International Organization of Journalists), Murat al-Jawahiri (Union of Iraqi Journalists) and Imat al-(Ksus), correspondent of GEORGIAN TIMES.



Emil Habibi of Israel: "Being a Palestinian and a journalist at the same time means double martyrdom."

This was according to protocol. What predominated from here on was the presence of people and fates, of individuals, who not only reflect the course of history, but also quite often create it.

Early on in his opening address Veselin Yosifov uttered a phrase which many found fault with later on: "Let us be the first in the struggle for peace and democracy; let us take the floor with our weapons before the generals do." Whether by chance or not, this expression in the end united the efforts and good will of all who participated in this quite stormy meeting, as far as debate was concerned.

And the truth is there was debate. It was hot in the hall in the literal sense of the word, too. Arab journalists disputed whether contact should be made with progressive Israeli journalists to help in a future international group of inquiry in the occupied Palestinian lands or whether this moment for cooperation had not yet arrived. There was nothing out of order in this dispute, either: the democratic spirit which led to the creation of the International Committee for the Defense of Journalists 3 years ago gave everybody the right to state his opinion. In the end a solution mutually agreeable to everybody was found: the members of the committee got together and heard the Palestinian writer and journalist and member of the Political Bureau of the Israeli Communist Party, Emil Habibi (he lives in the city of Haifa, Israel, and his works have been translated in our country), and the Israeli journalist Amnon Kapelyuk (commentator for the newspaper YEDI'OT AHARONOT--Author's note). And the success of the meeting was beyond question, for the democratic spirit of discussion was combined with a sense of responsibility to the future in the uneasy world we live in. In the end this led to the taking of concrete decisions.

There was something alarming and moving in the fiery speech of Greek Communist journalist, Nicos Papapericlis, who, after a 50-year grind over the blank page, said, "Bombs can destroy the world, but only words can change it." There was something sad in the words of Omar el-Sori from the Federation of Arab Journalists, who said, "In the Near East every 2 months an attempt is made on the life of a journalist. In the past few years over 300 of our Arab colleagues have been murdered." There was much truth also in the words of Veselin Yosifov: "The defense of journalists must be a matter for journalists themselves."

Later came the moment when Muhammad Sulayman of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists read the letter of his colleague from the city of Ramallah, Radwan Abu 'Ayash, who has been placed under house arrest by the Israeli authorities. Why? No explanations are given in Tel Aviv. Radwan had written down everything and for each case had duplicated it in his own voice on a tape-recorder cassette, which we all listened to during the breaks between sessions. We listened unbelievably. What we heard is even painful to relate.

....

At the moment nine Palestinian journalists are in the same position on the Western Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip. But there are many in prison, too. Who can stifle their voices coming through the bars?

Anger was natural. "We are weighted down with this anger," as Veselin Yosifov put it. This is anger which imperialism and Zionism are provoking in us. This anger must make us better fighters for peace. We have no time. We must sound the alarm. The testament of Fuchik, the voice of Radwan from the tape-recorder cassette and the blood on Khanna Mukbil's press card oblige us to do this.

Final Document

Here is what it says:

At the initiative of the regional subcommittee of the International Committee for the Defense of Journalists a meeting was held in Varna on 7 and 8 August 1984, participants in which were representatives of the Federation of Arab Journalists and the Union of African Journalists, as well as representatives of unions of journalists from Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Cyprus, Greece, Bulgaria and the General Union of Arab Writers and Journalists.

The session was presided over by the chairman of the International Committee for the Defense of Journalists and chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, Veselin Yosifov.

The participants condemned as a crime against world progressive journalism the murder of the general secretary of the Federation of Arab Journalists and member of the International Committee for the Defense of Journalists, Hannah Muqbil, to whose memory this meeting was dedicated.

The following questions were considered at the session:

--the possibility of the exchange of truthful information in the service of peace and understanding among people;

--the duty of journalists to reveal the truth about events in the present-day world;

--the problem of persecutions of journalists in the region;

--special attention was paid to the festering problems confronting Palestinian journalists as a consequence of the brutal methods used by Zionism and its agents, such as murders, imprisonment, house arrest, deprivation of the right to work and ferocious censorship;

--the session resolved to send an international group of inquiry into the occupied Palestinian lands and for the accomplishment of its goals to establish contacts with colleagues from these territories;

--the session discussed the question of closer cooperation between regional and national unions, as well as the question of closer cooperation of individual journalists in the region for the purpose of guaranteeing the vital interests of professional journalists and freedom of speech;

--the session discussed the most pressing problem of our time--the dangerous world situation created as a consequence of the imperialist policy, the intensification of the nuclear arms race and the militarist policy of the R. Reagan government. In this connection the participants expressed their support of the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean and other places over the world;

--the participants supported the Soviet Union's proposal for settling the Near Eastern problem, and especially that part of these proposals having to do with the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the guaranteeing of the inalienable right of self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine whose sole legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the right of this people to create an independent state of their own.

Why We Assembled

Statement by Dr Saber (Falhut), chairman of the Syrian Union of Journalists and general director of the SANA Agency:

"We did indeed have to assemble. We cannot sit idly by when our colleagues and friends are being murdered.

"We must be grateful for the hospitality of our Bulgarian colleagues who made possible the holding of this meeting. The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people have never held aloof from the world's alarms. That is why, thanks to the resourcefulness and patience of our hosts, our meeting has concluded successfully. I hope that the proposals that I, as well as other participants, have made will be put into effect as soon as possible. I believe that we must establish an International Memorial Day for journalists who have given their lives for freedom and democracy and against reaction, that we should issue a "Black Book" on the crimes against our colleagues (the first "Black Book" was already published by the International Committee for the Defense of Journalists last year--Editors' note), as well as establish a financial fund to aid the families of murdered or imprisoned journalists.

"As for Comrade Todor Zhivkov's idea that the Balkans should be converted into a nuclear-free zone, I think that is very timely. We in the Near East are not indifferent to what is happening in Europe."

Little Known Dramas: "I Ask"

Statement by Emil Habibi, Palestinian writer and journalist living in the city of Haifa, Israel, and editor-in-chief of the newspaper AL ITTIHAD

His bearing is that of a patriarch; his appearance sad and serious. His language is metaphorical and quite often biting. Even when he is silent, he has a strong aura. When he begins to speak, one has no choice other than to listen.

"I ask, do you young people remember what the British colonizers used to do? How they sowed hatred between Arabs and Jews? For they bear the main

responsibility for the tragedy of the Palestinian people. They would take some young Jewish man or woman from their ward and transfer them to an Arab ward. Then they would do everything possible so that they would be murdered.

"I was present at an incident in Jerusalem in 1947. There were Arab stores and Jewish stores on the same street. One day the English declared a curfew. Then they set fire to the Arab stores. The next day they declared a curfew again. Then they brought in a young Arab in a military vehicle, shoved a can of gasoline in his hands and pointed out the Jewish stores to him. . . That is the way hatred was born. That is the way our tragedy began. It has already lasted for decades.

"I ask, do you know why this is so? Because the Zionist leaders are not counting only on imperialism. They are counting also on Arab reaction, on Arab conciliationism. Sometimes we call this conciliationism Arab stupidity. Actually this is not only stupidity. This is a political approach which is bound to make impossible the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Otherwise one could not understand why Israeli reaction registers successes. For reaction is not as strong as it looks. Nor is it as intelligent as it looks. Moreover, Arab reaction is not as stupid as it looks. No, this is a political approach: Zionism has a good ally in the person of Arab reaction and herein lie the roots of the Palestinian drama.

"The question is not what is the future of Israel. Israel exists, it is a reality. The question is, what is the future of the Palestinian state.

"Due to the character of my work I often have to make comparisons between the fate of the American Indians and the fate of the Palestinians. I have studied thoroughly the history of the Indians and I have discovered that they made no mistake in their struggle. They were brave. They fought to the death. They were united. Notwithstanding, the whites colonized them. But the same thing does not await us. There is a difference between the Palestinians and the Indians. The Indians in North America were alone. Behind us is the Soviet Union. The ratio of power in the world has changed. In those times the Indians had nobody to count on. Today there is the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and the future of the Palestinians is secure. Likewise the future of our state. And I hope to see this state in my lifetime."

Testimony: "I Vouch That It Is So"

Statement by Amnon Kapelyuk, journalist of the Israeli newspaper YEDI'OT AHARONOT.

"The difference between the Israeli press and the Arab press in the occupied territories is tremendous. I vouch personally with these words of mine that the position of Palestinian journalists in the occupied territories is absolutely different from our position, i.e., the position of journalists of the Israeli press. Take censorship alone. If you take some local Palestinian newspaper, it may look to you as if it is not published here, but in Guatemala. I recall when Carter visited Israel as president of the United States. Carter's advisers did not want him to find out what the Palestinians were thinking. And therefore the Palestinian press was not permitted to publish any article critical of the

United States. Only AL ITTIHAD had the right to publish such items from the occupied territories.

"I have my own 'technique'; two or three times a week my informants in the occupied territories telephone me to tell me about land illegally taken away from Palestinians, about somebody who has been beaten up or arrested. Then I publish it in my newspaper and afterwards the Palestinian papers reprint it from me. Two years ago I made a study of how the Israeli censorship operates. And do you know what I discovered? That they ban the publication not only of political materials, but also of poetry. Of the most commonplace lyric. They stop even crossword puzzles if, for example, there is a question in them about who the PLO leader is. . .

"Once a colleague from a distant country wanted to find out how matters stood in the occupied territories. I told him, 'Go there. Take a car and go. You can stop some Palestinian in the street and thrash him within an inch of his life. Just don't kill him. That is still prohibited. And nobody will say anything to you. Or go into any store. Take whatever you want and leave. There is no need to pay the Arab; nobody will bother you.' But I know of another case: a Palestinian slapped a Jew in the face and was sent to prison for 3 years for this. For throwing a rock at an Israeli soldier or at a Jew in general in the occupied territories you can get 10 years of imprisonment. But if a Jewish settler in the occupied territories wounds or kills a Palestinian, he is given 2-3 months of imprisonment.

"That's it. Shall I go on?"

Censorship in Operation: How To Kill a Newspaper

Here is what happened to an issue of the newspaper AL FAJR, in which only two of the items submitted for approval escaped "intact" from the censor's merciless scissors.

Number of articles and other items submitted	26
Number of articles totally censored	14
Articles completely rejected	3
Articles so censored as to be no longer usable	6
Partially censored articles	1
Articles passed for publication	2

(Magazine PALESTINIAN JOURNALIST)

When the resources of censorship are exhausted, the newspaper is simply banned. "But ordinarily this is what happens: if you publish an eight-page newspaper, every day you have to give the censor materials for at least 16 pages in order for him to have something to cut and for something to remain for publication. This is the way it has been for more than 3 decades now," says Mohammed Suleiman of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists.

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CSO: 2200/189

BCP DAILY CARRIES ROUNDTABLE ON BULGARIAN-USSR COOPERATION

AU051015 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 3 September on pages 1 and 6 carries a 6,000-word report on a roundtable discussion "organized in Sofia by the Editorial Boards of RABOTNICHESKO DELO and PRAVDA, and devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the achievements and prospects of developing and strengthening the fraternal relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR."

The following persons are listed as having taken part: "Belcho Zhivkov, hero of socialist labor, leader of a technological unit in Stara Zagora; Georgi Karaulanov, hero of socialist labor and secretary of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council; Iliya Angelov, mechanical workers in Gorno Ablasovo village; Lyubomir Pavlov, first deputy chairman of the committee on culture, Nayden Naydenov, first deputy chairman of the state committee on planning; Professor Nesho Tsarevski, director of the Institute on International Relations and Socialist Integration at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Stoyan Tushev, secretary of the party organization of the '6 September' Sofia electric cars plant; Valentin Dyakov, trade representative of the USSR in Bulgaria; Anatoliy Plokhov, advisor at the USSR Embassy in Sofia; and Boris Averchenko, PRAVDA special representative and editor of PRAVDA 'socialist countries' department," Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, spoke at the discussion.

In his speech (reported in approximately 1,200-words) Stanishev speaks in general terms about the "fraternal relations between the BCP and the CPSU built on the foundations of the firm principles of Marxism-Leninism and constantly developing in all areas." He points out the "importance of the meetings of the members of the party and state leaderships of the two countries, and especially of the two countries' first leaders" for developing the course of bringing the two countries closer together. The report notes that Stanishev stresses the importance of the economic cooperation between the two countries, and in this context he underlines the importance of the September 1979 general scheme on specialization and production sharing, "which is being successfully implemented."

The other participants in the discussion deal with various aspects of Bulgarian-Soviet economic cooperation, stressing the increase in trade, the development of cultural cooperation, and working successes of their respective industrial plants, relating their personal experience and impressions of Soviet assistance.

The newspaper reports only the statements of the Bulgarian participants in the discussion.

BULGARIA

LEADERS' COMMISSION BUILDING PROJECTS ON 5 SEP

AU051858 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0900 GMT on 5 September carries a report on Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs and BCP Central Committee Politburo member, inaugurating a rubber articles plant in the town of Pazardzhik on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the "socialist revolution" in Bulgaria. Also in its 0900 GMT cast, Sofia announces that Yordan Yotov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, opened a food processing-storage plant in Sofia today.

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 5 September announces the following leaders' appearances at the commissioning of plants in honor of the "revolution anniversary":

Stanko Todorov BCP Politburo member, chairman of the National Assembly, is reported opening a new coal mine, which is named after marshal Tolbukhin, in Pernik. He is also reported to have inaugurated a new village library in Neshitsa.

Stanish Bonev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, inaugurated an electric power station and a central heating installation in Plovdiv.

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, opened a new tourist center in Belitsa town, Blagoevgrad Okrug.

Sofia, in its 1900 GMT cast on 5 September, reported that Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, attended a "festive meeting" at the Academy of Sciences devoted to the revolution anniversary.

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BULGARIA

LEADERS ATTEND INAUGURATIONS OF BUILDING PROJECTS, EVENTS

AU041850 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 4 September carries several reports on the following leaders attending ceremonies held for the commissioning of various building projects throughout Bulgaria on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the "9 September socialist revolution":

Stanko Todorov, BCP Politburo member, chairman of the National Assembly, attended the commissioning of a new water purification plant in Sofia during which he "pointed out the care devoted by the party and government for environmental protection."

Pencho Kubadinski BCP Politburo member, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, inaugurated a new zoological park in Sofia, pointing out the importance of the new zoo for "the education of young people in a spirit of love for nature and for the preservation of animals."

Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the council of minister, attended the commissioning of a new structure of the Vasil Kolarov cement plant in Temelkov town, which took place "123 days ahead of schedule."

Kiril Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a ceremony on the occasion of the commissioning of a new railroad line in Shumen.

Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the council of ministers, attended a meeting of working people at the Lyudmila Zhivkova Palace of Culture in Sofia this afternoon at which workers' successes were assessed, and Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, spoke.

At this meeting, Georgiev also presented meritorious workers and winners in the Sofia city jubilee competition with awards. The workers adopted a report and a pledge to the party and Todor Zhivkov on their past and future achievements in socialist competition, which they presented to Chudomir Aleksandrov.

Yordan Yotov, BCP Politburo member, and Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, attended a "festive jubilee" meeting at Sofia University organized in cooperation with the BCP Central Committee. Yordan Yotov and Stoyan Mikhaylov also attended a "jubilee" photographic exhibition on the development

of party photo journalism in the last 4 decades, organized by the editorial board of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO at the Lyudmila Zhivkov Palace of Culture in Sofia.

Ognyan Doynov, BCP Politburo member, attended the opening of an exhibition at the Universiada Hall devoted to young people's participation in automation, robotics and micro-electronics, devoted to the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

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BULGARIA

DYULGEROV AT EXPANDED PLANT SECTION COMMISSIONING

AU091937 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1930 GMT on 6 September reports that Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, attended the commissioning of the expanded section of the magnetic deives plant in the town of (Krugok), Blagoevgrad Okrug. During the ceremony held on this occasion Petur Dyulgerov greeted the building and assembling workers and pointed out the socioeconomic importance of the new plant's capacities for the town and okrug.

CSO: 2200/200

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

FILIPOV OPENS BUILDING PROJECT--A number of building projects have been commissioned in our country tonight manifesting in a brilliant manner the successful socioeconomic development of Bulgaria. The Burgas petrochemical plant, a new complex for the intensive processing of oil, was commissioned tonight. In inaugurating the new plant, Comrade Grisha Filipov pointed out that the complex which will be of great importance for our country's economy and represents a bright expression of the party policy in intensively developing the chemical industry. This is one of the largest industrial branches of our national economy, he stated. The equipment, which was built with the help of Soviet scientific-technical assistance, is unique as regards its technical construction, technical quality and capacity. [Text] [AU041905 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 84]

DZHUROV INAUGURATES PARTISAN MUSEUM--In 1942, at the foot of Botev Peak in the Balkan Mountains, three partisans; namely, Dobri Dzhurov, Ivan Shonev and Tonyu Perinovski, built the first trench of the Chavdar guerrilla brigade. This trench has been fully restored and at festive meeting in the "Grey Forest" locality it was opened to visitors. The trench contains a museum with original objects from the partisans' everyday life and a map of the Chavdar brigade combat march. The meeting was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, and by Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. Comrade Dobri Dzhurov cut the ribbon and opened the restored trench. [Text] [AU052104 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 84]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES JAPANESE BUSINESSMAN--Sofia, 2 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, the president of the State Council, received Mr Takao Nagata, the president of the shipbuilding company of 'Hitacki Zossen' and chairman of the Japanese side of the Joint Japanese-Bulgarian Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Committee. A talk was held in a friendly atmosphere on matters pertaining to bilateral economic cooperation. Later Mr Todor Zhivkov awarded Mr Takao Nagata with the order of "Madara Horseman"--First Degree. He is awarded this distinction for his great contribution to the development and strengthening of the economic, techno-scientific and friendly relations between Bulgaria and Japan. [Spelling of Japanese Names as received] [Text] [AU022017 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 2 Sep 84]

FILIPOV GREETES RED CROSS CONFERENCE--Comrade Grisha Filipov sent a greetings message to the Second World Peace Conference of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent, which is taking place in Finland. The greeting message points out that the preservation of peace is the most important problem of our time and expresses wishes for the worldwide Red Cross movement to continue in the future also to contribute to cooperation and understanding among peoples for the preservation of peace on our planet. [Text] [AU042014 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 84]

GDR DELEGATION IN SOFIA--Sofia, 7 Sep (ADN)--A GDR party and state delegation headed by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, arrived in Sofia today. It will attend the festivities marking the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. At Sofia airport the guests were warmly welcomed by Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, and Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the BPR's Council of State. The party and state delegation also includes Herbert Krolikowski, secretary of state and first deputy minister of foreign affairs; Carl-Heinz Janson, department chief of the SED Central Committee, and Egon Rommel, GDR ambassador to the BPR. [Text] [LD080039 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1746 GMT 7 Sep 84]

FILIPOV ATTENDS LOVECH CELEBRATION--A festive meeting was held in the town of Lovech to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of political prisoners from the Lovech prison and the 40th anniversary of the socialist regime taking over power in this town. Comrade Grisha Filipov delivered a moving speech in which he stressed that in the years of antifascist struggle the Lovech prison became a true communist university for training and education. Comrade Grisha Filipov greeted the former political prisoners on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the government, and on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, personally, and wished them health, happiness, and a long life. [Text] [AU052103 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 5 Sep 84]

ZHIVKOV PRESENTS 'GOLD STARS'--Today Todor Zhivkov presented Gold Stars of Heroes of Socialist Labor and honorary certificates for People's Artists and Meritorious Artists to outstanding public figures and veterans of the revolutionary struggles, as well as to distinguished workers, scientists, scholars, artists, and cultural figures. The ceremony took place at the State Council headquarters. On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the government, Comrade Todor Zhivkov most cordially congratulated the award winners and stressed that the presentation of these high awards to them, taking place on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, is a recognition of their inspired deeds in building a new socialist society. Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished all award winners health and strength so that they may work as selflessly as ever for the people's benefit. Writer Kamen Kalchev, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, expressed the gratitude of all those honored with awards and assured that they will all work with great inspiration in the future to fulfill the BCP decisions. [Text] [AU052102 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 84]

CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION VISITS SOFIA--A festive meeting was held in the National Palace of Culture in Sofia of the Bulgarian Communist Party of the People's Assembly, of the State Council, of the Council of Ministers and other important political and mass organizations to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in the country. The Czechoslovak party and the state delegation, led by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, that is taking part in the celebrations, visited the National Historical Museum in Sofia. They acquainted themselves with the oldest relics of civilisation and culture on the Bulgarian territory and with exhibitions on life and struggles of the Bulgarian peoples. [Text] [LD092317 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1930 GMT 8 Sep 84]

FILIPOV, KARAMENEV VISIT TRADE CENTERS--Comrade Grisha Filipov visited some trade centers and department stores in Sofia today. He was accompanied by Georgi Karamanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of production and trade with consumer goods, and by Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee. Comrade Grisha Filipov inspected the Central Department Store [TSUM] and trade networks in the [name indistinct] district, as well as in the "Mladost" residential complex, and other such projects. [Text] [AU071910 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 84]

AGRARIAN DELEGATION LEADERS RECEIVED--Sofia, 7 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received the leaders of the delegations which took part in the International Meeting-Dialogue of the International Agrarian Movement held in Varna on 5 and 6 September. Mr Todor Zhivkov gave a high assessment to the work of this forum. He pointed out that the preservation of peace in the world and the struggle against the thermonuclear danger must be the objective of all states, social and political organisations, of all people of good will. Bulgaria's first party and state leader stressed that Bulgaria pursues a constant peaceful foreign policy directed towards promoting mutually advantageous cooperation with all countries. [Text] [AU071655 Sofia BTA in English 1323 GMT 7 Sep 84]

FILIPOV CONDOLES PRK'S CHAN SI--Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, recently sent a message to Comrade Chan Si, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRK, to express condolences to the Kampuchean people who are affected by the current national disaster. The message stressed: On behalf of the Government of the Bulgarian People's Republic and in my own name, I would like to express sympathy with Kampuchea, which has been assaulted by a natural disaster that has caused serious losses. Please, comrade, convey my profound sympathy and mourning to the relatives and parents of those who died from this natural disaster. [Text] [BK100058 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 9 Sep 84]

SOFIA GARRISON CELEBRATION--The soldiers from the Sofia garrison celebrated the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution at the Sofia Central Army Club tonight. The festive meeting was attended by Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military Administrative Department;

Lieutenant General M. Mitkov, head of the People's Army Main Political Administration; deputy ministers, generals and officers of the People's Army, Veterans, as well as by Colonel General Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and by military attaches from the fraternal socialist countries. A report was read by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army. [Text]
[AU072006 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 7 Sep 84]

CSO: 2200/200

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES CONSIDERED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 7-8, 1984 pp 95-106

/Article by Karel Boucek: "Problems of the Living Environment in CPCZ Policies"/

/Excerpts/ Questions of the living environment are among the problems given unusual attention by the broad masses of workers. People are encountering many cases of harmful quality of the air, water and soil. The noise level in their surroundings is increasing; the concentration of production and housing in certain areas disturbs the quiet of their lives. They are also noticing other factors that have unfavorable effects on the environment in which they live. With these impressions the problem of their environment can seem only as something negative or as a subject for action that should eliminate this negative. Often problems of the environment are taken more or less as an encounter between society and nature, as a conflict between what people do for their benefit and the consequences of their actions. This view of the environment is not quite justified. Without losing sight of these facts, it is necessary to point out the bias of this view.

Our country blossomed during over 3 decades of building socialism. New cities were built, great new industrial complexes arose, big dams were built on rivers, a network of motor highways was developed and other important engineering works were erected. The living conditions of people in backward krajs approached that of formerly developed krajs. In essence, all important facets of life in the Czech lands and in Slovakia were equalized. The advantages of socialism over capitalism were also projected into questions of the environment and its quality. Under socialism the living environment of our citizens took on characteristic features. This generally positive development of the environment did not occur automatically but rather was closely dependent on achievement of the political goals of the CPCZ. There came to the fore the connection between problems of the environment and the living standard of the population, the consolidation of their social security, formation of elements of the socialist way of life and the development of socialist culture. In the course of building a socialist society, it was fully confirmed that the essential concept of the living environment is far from merely things (nature and objects made by human labor) but is also relations between people (social relations).

Building a socialist society showed that societal intervention in people's relation to nature is different than under capitalism. Eliminating the

antagonistic relations between people allowed for the pursuit of positive tendencies in developing the people's living environment. New qualities of the social system developed while working for the interests of the laboring class and meeting the goals of the communist party permeated the living environment. On the basis of the planned development of the national economy and the strengthening and development of socialist foundations in all spheres of national life, the overall living conditions of our people assumed a socialist character and quality which the living environment could never have under capitalism. Its "parameters" are not determined only by certain important problems such as, for example, the worsened quality of the air, water, soil and many other material problems, but also by providing for the life security of people, high living standards of the population and society's concern for the allround development of workers.

Socialist society does not underestimate certain negative aspects of the material problems of the living environment. It is trying to solve them within the framework of resources which can be allocated to it. Negative problems of the environment are not intrinsically related to socialism but something that is contrary to the goals of socialism and communism, something that is in conflict with the goals of the CPCZ. The problems of the living environment are resolved within the system of priorities of political goals and resources. In spite of the fact that there are many unfavorable influences, old as well as new, on the material quality of the environment which society is only gradually dealing with, there are preponderantly positive tendencies in the overall picture of the living environment of the people in socialist Czechoslovakia.

The problems of the environment are also part of the class struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the socialist camp. While slandering socialist Czechoslovakia, anticommunism, in its ideological subversion, is directing the problem of the environment only toward certain biological, economic, technological and other problems and particularly toward those which should evidence the development of the environment of our people only as a set of influences which lowers its quality. They purposely belittle the great efforts of the socialist state and all people to deal successfully with unfavorable influences on the environment, they deny and suppress all the good that socialist society has brought to all aspects of workers' lives and thus also to the living environment. Our enemies emphasize certain temporary and local problems and try to persuade people that our state is not coping well enough with problems of the environment and that it is not even capable of doing so.

They try to foist on our citizens the opinion that it is essential for the socialist state to spend all its resources on the environment and thus undermine conditions for solving other, equally important aspects of the development of society. The imbalance created between important priorities should, according to their wishes, stir up dissatisfaction among our people. At the same time, they conceal how environmental problems under capitalism are exacerbated by the efforts of private owners of production facilities to get the highest possible profits and how workers are exploited thereby. Some capitalist measures in the area of environment, instituted by the necessity of warding off criticism by the public at large, are offered as proof of bourgeois concern for the environment, and these are presented as examples for socialist states.

On the one hand, they justify the militaristic efforts of the most reactionary groups and the feverish arms buildup which is raising the danger of nuclear disaster for humanity and the destruction of the environment for everything living and, on the other hand, they display hypocritical and touching concern for the environment of our population.

No one wants to deny that physical laws of nature manifested in negative effects on the living environment operate both in capitalist and socialist societies. But the social inevitability which is determined by the quality of capitalism and socialism is different. In socialist Czechoslovakia there are no groups of people who could lay claim to certain qualities of the environment. Our citizens examined the subversive aims of the "guardians" of the environment in our country and they rejected their ideas. They are actively taking part in measures directed toward preventing needless damage to the environment by the negligence and carelessness of certain individuals and they have a practical appreciation of the possibilities of socialist society in this area.

The development of socialist society, which is also the development of the people's living environment, does not proceed without problems, shortcomings and also some mistakes and errors. There are even some inconsistencies in carrying out goals prescribed in a planned manner. It is the policy of the CPCZ to watch over these manifestations and resolve them. It is a policy of developing the living environment, a policy directed toward preventing situations which have a negative influence on the people's environment. In connection with such situations, it is the policy to resolve them purposefully within the possibilities offered by a given stage of development of true socialism for handling such problems.

Resolving problems of the environment of necessity also calls for accelerating the practical application of research and development, as proclaimed at the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in June 1983. Our society is not worried that R&D progress will bring about insoluble problems in this area. On the contrary, it expects that R&D progress will be beneficial in providing society's needs, that they will be provided better than heretofore and that, consequently, R&D will make positive contributions to the life of the people and so also to environmental problems. In contrast to pessimistic views on the negative influences of R&D progress on the environment, views which are fostered under capitalism and spread by its apologists, true socialism is oriented primarily toward the peaceful application of R&D progress for the welfare of the people. True socialism, however, does not promote cheap optimism in this matter. The CPCZ realizes that the practical application of R&D involves more than just positive effects on the environment, that even with the greatest care for it socialist society, for various reasons, cannot fully avoid negative influences as well, and that for a certain time society will be burdened with unfavorable problems so far unresolved. The people are urged, along with healthy criticism of negative problems in the area of the environment, to appreciate the positive aspects of its development and especially to intensify their participation in caring for the environment. The importance of managerial personnel in solving this problem is emphasized.

The CPCZ considers concern for the environment to be an integral part of the living standard of the people. No small sums are expended from the nation's

resources for this care. As stated in the Report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee on the State Plan for Economic and Social Development for 1984, which Comrade Svatopluk Potac presented at the Ninth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in November 1983: "The sum of almost 2 billion korunas and other assets have been allocated for investment for these purposes to improve the ecological situation in the population centers most affected, especially in the basin districts of Podkrkonose, Ostrava, Prague, Bratislava and the Horni Nitra region. Construction of desulfurization units will be started at the 200 MW unit electric power station in Tusimice with budgeted expenditures of over Kcs 700 million, as will the elimination of expansion gases in Vresov na Sokolvsku and the construction of joint sewage treatment plants in Liptovsky Mikluas and other places." At the Ninth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee it was solemnly stated that there must be no delays in the construction of facilities serving to protect the environment nor any failure to meet planned parameters of these facilities. It is the duty of senior officials to take responsibility for assuring the comprehensive resolution of environmental problems and projecting these problems into the decisionmaking process, investment and control at all levels of management. The goals outlined at the Ninth Congress of the CPCZ Central Committee are being gradually met. Likewise, in the area of the life environment, programs formulated by the CPCZ are in accord with their actions.

8491

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HEAD OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ACADEMY ACCUSES FRG OF REVANCHISM

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German No 15, 1984 (signed to press 26 Jul 84) pp 563-568

[Article by O. Reinhold, member CC SED, director of the Academy of Social Sciences (under CC SED): "Unity of Party and People - Foundation of 35 Years of Success"]

[Text] A turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe came about with the founding of the GDR on 7 October 1949, as the official USSR telegram put it. On German soil, from where two devastating world wars had emanated, a state was created in which militarism and imperialism are eradicated and the workers class, in close alliance with all working people and democratic forces, exercises power. The most important goal was to do everything for never again letting a war emanate from German soil. That goal called not only for engaging in peaceful foreign policy, but mainly also for establishing a society that is in its whole nature committed to peace. That could be only socialism. A historic turning point indeed in line with the interests of the workers class and all other working people in the GDR as well as with the interests of all nations in Europe.

Material and Spiritual Ruins Were Soon Overcome

Imperialist forces, especially in the FRG, pronounced the GDR a state structure without any stable foundations. It would not live to see another year, let alone survive it, they were prophesying there. They were firmly convinced the workers class and its party, the SED, could not possibly cope with the extremely intricate problems of the time and find ways and the capacities to establish a socialist society under those conditions.

The difficulties were in fact inconceivable. Though tremendous work had been done since 1945 to do away with the destruction of war, much of the country, especially of the economy, still lay in ruins. The split of the country had profoundly negative effects on economic development. The open borders were used by the West to sabotage social development in multiple ways. Nationalistic ideology and lack of faith in the future had not yet been surmounted.

Socialism Demonstrates Vitality

That was 35 years ago. The GDR has become a socialist country marked by great political stability, economic dynamism, a blossoming culture and a high standard

of living for all working people. On the international scene the GDR is a respected state and reliable partner in every respect that actively helps secure peace and foil the war strategy of the United States and other NATO states. Our country's western borders also set the boundaries to imperialist power. Our celebrating the 35th GDR anniversary also documents that all attempts at rolling those borders back toward the east have failed. At this neuralgic point of the earth socialism is also demonstrating its vitality. The workers class has proven that even under complicated conditions it can, under Marxist-Leninist leadership, shape a new society successfully.

When asking about the source of that capability, two factors have to be underlined: for one thing, the inseparable link with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community and, secondly, the ability of the party to apply rigorously and creatively Marxism-Leninism, the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution, under our specific conditions.

Working Together With the CPSU a Source of Strength

The Soviet Army's victory over German fascism only gave our people the chance to take the path of socialism and thereby crown with victory the more than 100-year struggle of the German workers movement. Yet not only this chance it was that permitted the construction of a new society, but equally so the constant and comprehensive assistance given us all along. The CPSU and the entire Soviet people have had a great share in our successfully finding the specific ways to make the general laws of the socialist revolution consistently prevail in our country. We pay high tribute to the fact that the presence of the Soviet Army has always been and is a fundamental element in GDR security. Today the close economic and scientific collaboration and that in all other domains of public life is a decisive source of strength in the shaping of developed socialism.

The SED has always seen as its decisive leadership tasks finding concrete ways for the socialist revolution and the further development of socialism. It always resolutely opposed any views that came down to a slighting or despising of the general inevitabilities of the socialist revolution. At the same time, in its practical policy and theoretical activity it always started from the idea that they have to be applied creatively under concrete historic conditions. The one is not possible without the other.

Socialism and Capitalism Are Incompatible

Among the specific conditions of socialist construction is the fact that each step must be taken through harsh and bitter conflict with imperialism, especially FRG imperialism. The ruling imperialist circles do not want to reconcile themselves to that their power ends at the GDR border. Although since the early 1970's, since the signing of the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG, state relations have developed positively, the Bonn government still insists on some positions assuming Germany could be reconstituted in its 1937 borders. West of the Elbe they keep talking about "keeping the German question open" even though history has long settled that question. Two German states with different social orders exist today, belonging to different alliance systems. There can be no unification between socialism and capitalism. Unless such realities are recognized, relations between the two states cannot be normalized.

At the 35th GDR anniversary it is evident that the SED's social conception and practical politics have proven themselves fully. We can come up with a positive balance-sheet in our economic and social policy and in the other sectors of public life. SED policy is aimed at bringing to full effect our country's material and intellectual potentials, the advantages and impulses of socialism, for the benefit of the workers class, all other working people and all the people. The party program, adopted at the Ninth SED Congress in 1976, is the basis for it.

The SED Stands Behind Its Program With Word and Deed

Though great changes have occurred since 1976 internationally and within the GDR, the SED has never let itself be deflected, in word and deed, from its main goal to do everything for the good of the people. It has always sought and found ways and means to make the unity of economic and social policy prevail under any conditions. Extraordinary results have been achieved since the 10th party congress in the practical implementation of the SED's economic and social strategy. The rate of growth has speeded up all around. While in 1982 the real national income grew by 3.8 percent, in 1983 it came already to 4.4 percent, and in the first half of 1984, to 5.1 percent. Labor productivity in 1983 rose by 5.3 percent and by circa 7 percent in the first half of 1984. Speeded up further were the housing construction and the production of technical consumer commodities.

Basic structural changes in the GDR's economy have taken place since the early 1980's.

First, basically new sources of growth were tapped. Since 1980, the specific consumption of raw materials and fuels dropped by 19 percent in the GDR economy. In 1982 and 1983 for the first time a national income growth between 4 and 5 percent was achieved within the framework of the economy while material and energy consumption dropped in absolute terms. In 1980 the national income growth came to 8 percent from the reduction in production consumption. Now it has become possible to reduce production consumption at new magnitudes.

Second, a basic change in the energy structure was brought about. In 1984 we will come to an end with replacing petroleum for heating purposes. We shall use more of our own fuel reserves for that, mainly lignite. Linked with it have been and are important steps toward refining our own fuels.

The GDR Proves Itself a Good Partner Everywhere

Third, far-reaching changes were made in our export economy. Export has been significantly boosted, to socialist countries as well as to the nonsocialist economic region. The GDR proves a reliable partner in international economic affairs. All imperialist attempts at making the GDR financially dependent and subject to political extortion have failed.

Fourth, the organizational and management structure in the GDR economy has been totally revamped. The centerpiece was the formation and reorganization of the combines. Thereby we further refined the management, planning and economic stimulation system. The aim of all the measures directed at that is to place scientific-technical progress and economic efficiency in the center of the management and planning system.

Fifth, significant changes were carried out or introduced in the educational system. That includes a further development of the polytechnical character of the general education schools and an improved adaptation of the substance of education to the new requirements. A new profiling of vocational training was initiated that will take effect in the years ahead.

We also regard the college reform, carried out since 1980, as one of the key issues. The core of it is a close link between the Academy of Sciences, universities and colleges and the combines and other economic facilities. The colleges thereby are in a still better position to gather practical experiences in the combines and offer them practically viable research data. One of these links lies in setting up academy industrial complexes or college industrial complexes combining their potentials, stably and long-term, on a contractual basis. Two thirds of the natural science and technical potentials of the universities and colleges have now been drawn into this linkage. That also includes setting up joint facilities and a more long-range reciprocal exchange of scientists. That makes possible more complex research and solutions for new problems and tasks.

Changes in All Sectors of Society

All these changes have been tied in with the above-average development especially of those science and economic branches that are crucially important to economic intensification. That includes mainly microelectronics, robot technology, raw material and fuel refining, machine building and rationalization means production.

In no other period in GDR history have so many far-reaching changes been made in the economy and other public sectors as since the early 1980's.

Decisive to us is that this way the economic conditions were created that allow us to carry on the unity of economic and social policy despite the exacerbation of the international situation. We were able to hold, and further elevate, the working people's standard of living achieved in the 1970's. Whereas in the FRG and other capitalist countries the red-pencil policy has greatly worsened the working people's situation, not one of the sociopolitical programs in the GDR had to be deleted or even curtailed. In important sectors they were in fact even expanded or complemented by new measures. That relates mainly to housing construction. Circa 70,00 new apartments were built in 1970. This year we will for the first time build more than 200,000. In mid-May the so-called baby year for mothers with three and more children was extended to 18 months, pensions were raised, and the real income has steadily grown further.

Economic Growth With . Reduced Costs

Results in the GDR's economic development have confirmed our view that dynamic economic growth over the long run is possible with expenditures reduced. Thus the seventh Central Committee session introduced a new phase in enforcing the economic strategy. Mainly, economic intensification must be made to prevail comprehensively and must become permanent.

For one thing, what matters is to enforce intensively expanded reproduction in all economic sectors and all phases of the reproduction process. A key question, as experience shows, along with an economically effective production organization, is a rational circulation organization that makes use of the latest science and technology data. This is of special importance for foreign trade relations. The notion that certain orders or special customer requests do not "suit the profile" is incompatible with intensively expanded reproduction and with the party's economic policy. Already economic efficiency greatly depends today on how rapidly customers' requests can be met. We have already many examples in the GDR where delivery deadlines were reduced from many months to a few weeks.

High Speed in the Upgrading Process

Secondly, comprehensive intensification means using all intensification factors so as to make sure that efficiency gain at one spot is not diminished by losses elsewhere. Great importance therefore attaches, aside from boosting labor productivity and reducing the raw material and fuel consumption, to using modern plants, machinery and installations, to the turnover speed of the funds, the efficient handling of investment projects, of the rationalization programs, of qualities and so forth. Results in this field are of the greatest weight when they become fully effective in the reduction of prime costs and the growth of labor productivity, when one avoids, in other words, that savings in one spot are eliminated by extra consumption elsewhere.

Third, a key issue in the new phase of intensification lies in a high speed of the upgrading process for products, the production structure, the technology and the production methods through a broad application of the latest science data. At the seventh SED Central Committee session, Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out that in the GDR economy roughly 30 percent of the products had to be upgraded annually if the intensification process is to become a permanent one.

Intensification Is Proving Itself

Eliminating unnecessary expenses remains an important source for efficiency improvements, of course. Clear also is that unnecessary expense can only be eliminated once. That makes it then a rather limited intensification source. Only a permanent innovation process can make intensification permanent. And this does of course not refer to just any sort of products and innovations of that sort. They must absolutely respond to quite specific requirements. That includes a significant improvement in use-value, the production of new technologies, a considerable drop in economic outlays, especially in production consumption, the opportunity to export for a high foreign exchange return, and their mass manufacture.

There is a fourth element of ever increasing importance: close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community. This cooperation is one of the fundamental prerequisites for developing and using the kind of top products and modern production methods that are needed for the new intensification phase. The top level CEMA conference has set down or initiated the rules necessary for that.

The most significant outcome of the GDR's economic and social development since the early 1980's is the greater capability the party has to react fast and flexibly to new international and domestic conditions, to draw new inferences in good time, to set down necessary measures, and to involve the working people in carrying them out in practice. This ability and the party's close ties with the masses, based on it, to us is the key for being able to carry on our social program with success in the years ahead. Here the fact of the greatest importance is that most of the party organizations in combines, enterprises, co-operatives, institutes and other sectors in the economy and in science do have this ability and are enhancing it steadily. Intensively expanded reproduction is a realistic way of permanent economic development only when all economic and scientific levels and sectors have the ability to find new ways and solutions for new problems and tasks. That implies setting up a creative atmosphere, close ties between the party and all working people, and an energy and democratic participation by all who are involved.

1984--The Most Successful Year of the GDR

The political management of the new intensification phase makes high demands on party work. At the same time, the strength of the party has grown considerably since the 10th SED Congress, and especially in the course of last year. We have a clear program for further economic and social development. We have great experience in seeking to implement the party program in practice. The great people's initiative for the GDR anniversary is the best guarantee for turning 1984 into the most successful year in our country's history.

5885

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HORN CALLS FOR REDUCED ARMS, CONTINUED EUROPEAN DIALOGUE

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 1984 pp 3, 31-48

[Article by Gyula Horn, director of the MSZMP CC Department of International Relations, with an introduction by Gyula Bogнар, editor of KULPOLITIKA]

[Text] Forward

For the fourth time our journal is publishing a thematic issue, in which the common theme of our authors this time is Europe.

We have selected our continent as the subject for examination now out of a number of considerations. It is obvious that the importance of this continent in the development of the world situation has increased in recent years. (Perhaps it would be more precise to formulate it this way: It is increasing again.) But this has taken place in a dangerous way, whether we examine it from the side of the world situation as a whole or from the viewpoint of the fate of Europe, for the new turn in the arms race threatening world peace is connected precisely with Europe.

And although the line dividing social systems cuts Europe in two, in a paradoxical manner it was not a deterioration of relations among the European states which caused an increase in the dangers in the first place. Indeed we are witnesses to the fact that virtually the only realistic support for the hopes attaching to a relaxation of tension--with the activation of various sorts of peace forces--is precisely the existing and developing link between the two halves of Europe, even if this relationship is also charged with contradictions.

It is natural that East-West contacts are determined primarily by the American-Soviet relationship in general and also where our continent is concerned as well. Still, we are meeting more and more with initiatives which are aimed at improving and consolidating European relationships,

and this in the awareness that the success of these steps could have global significance.

In the wake of a unique European community of interest there is also developing a unique European thinking which with its strongest roots feeds from the soil of a will to survive--thus in essence it is common for the peoples belonging to the different social systems of political, military alliances.

It is obvious that the most significant influence on the general content and chief characteristics of international relations is the fact that there are in the world, side by side, states belonging to the world systems of capitalism and socialism. This fact determines the content of the age in the social sense, but the goals and tasks of the foreign policy to be developed in the shadow of nuclear war cannot be derived from this in itself. The responsibility of socialist foreign policy has increased immeasurably in regard to both the present and future generations, and it is also natural that this responsibility cannot be assumed alone--under the given conditions--partners are needed.

We have no worked-out, ready answer to every question raised by the present, yet this cannot lead to passivity or postponement of steps. There is no time for us to work out comfortably the new theoretical questions constituting the background of foreign policy, only to take a stand after the chief factors are theoretically and ideologically clear. The consistent, purposeful steps must be accompanied by courageous theoretical work too, work which will disclose the new questions of our age. This thematic issue is intended to contribute to this great task on the soil of the given possibilities, reflecting those ideas which have been born in the heads of our domestic experts and politicians in a difficult historical moment.

-- Gyula Bogнар
Editor, KULPOLITIKA

Social-Political Trends in Europe and Their Effect in International Contacts

The present and future of Europe are influenced considerably by the fact that its historical traditions, social and political spectrum, geopolitical conditions and relationship to the surrounding areas differ fundamentally from the situation of the other continents. Its new and most recent history have had a determining influence on human civilization, on its culture and on the social formations existing today. The enlightenment, then the bourgeois democratic revolution and the development of the forces of production set capitalism in motion as a social system on this continent. The conflict between capital and labor created the labor movement here, a movement which

carrying out a revolutionary breakthrough, created the first worker-peasant power. Europe was the scene of the two world wars of mankind, in the wake of which fundamental changes took place in the socio-political aspect of the other continents as well.

Its situation is unique also on account of the fact that on this continent are found in the most concentrated form, in immediate proximity with one another, the economic, political and military forces of the two opposed social systems, socialism and capitalism, and more than 40 percent of the nuclear arsenals threatening the total destruction of mankind.

In the course of the past four decades the most important events of East-West relations determining the fate of the world have taken place in Europe. The cold war of the 1950's, the complete freezing of contacts was followed by a slow melting, by the beginning of direct contacts and dialogues and, at the turn of the 1960's, by the detente which was crowned by acceptance of the Helsinki accord. For the first time it happened that the states of a continent, plus the United States and Canada, set down in a common document the principle of abstaining from force, of regional inviolability and respect for social-political arrangements, and undertook to encourage manifold contacts with each other.

But the process started with great hopes and promising a lasting development gradually came to a halt, and negative changes took place in a number of areas. The economic situation of the continent continually worsened from the second half of the 1970's. The economic boom in West Europe which had lasted for almost a decade came to a halt and serious financial, economic structure and--in the wake of these--social problems arose in every state. In the socialist countries of the continent the exhaustion of the possibilities of the extensive developmental phase was not followed by a conversion at the required pace to a more effective economic system. It may well be as a result of different causes but the states of both Western and Eastern Europe were forced onto a sort of forced course which had a negative influence on their possibilities of movement and action in the European and broader stage alike. The external global political factors developed especially unfavorably for Europe. Beginning in the second half of the 1970's the United States strove to realize a confrontational policy in East-West relations. The reactionary military-policy steps and the extreme ideological campaign against socialism affected unfavorably the political atmosphere, and most of all it undermined and then reduced to a minimum the mutual trust indispensable for the normal conduct of East-West relations. The new events taking place in the developing countries made the situation of Europe difficult. The deepening of the Near East crisis, the turn-about in Iran and the consequences of this on the surrounding regions and other events deepened international instability and the external problems of the continent.

One source and consequence of the present unfavorable international trends is the increase in military tension in the world, and in Europe in particular. In the nuclear age, in the wake of a sharpening of economic-political confrontation, even maintaining the military confrontation at an unchanged level increases the danger of war, because the political factors hindering the use of nuclear weapons are weakening. And the military-strategic situation of

Europe has changed too. In the past period, hardly more than half a decade, the number of nuclear warheads on medium-range missiles has increased from 892 to 1,247; modern nuclear weapons of great precision and destructive power have appeared in virtually every region of the European continent. So the immediate or indirect danger from nuclear weapons has increased significantly for virtually every European country. Interdependent with this it is a unique factor that while there are bilateral agreements providing a framework for the Soviet-American military-strategic balance of forces (SALT I and SALT II), there is no agreement limiting the great majority of European tactical devices. So it can be said with justice that Europe has again become the center of military tensions; here one feels most of all the negative consequences of the fact that in the past decade the political detente was not coupled with military detente.

In many respects the Western European deployment of medium-range American nuclear weapons has created a new situation on the continent. The deployment of the Pershing 2's and the robot aircraft places the strategic devices in the role of lower or theater weapons, and as a result of this the nuclear threshold is reduced. Implementation of the NATO decision forced the member states of the Warsaw Pact to counter-steps in the area of an escalation of preventive devices and weapons of a similar type. All of this increases the vulnerability of the control systems of a continent already too closely enmeshed, increases the danger of a sudden explosion of nuclear war.

The European situation of the first half of the 1980's is a special one, a number of elements of an earlier period can be found in it--economic crises and development, confrontation and normal contacts, military-political tensions and discussion forums. The military-technical means for waging a new world war have been available for about two decades; and at the same time a policy of peaceful coexistence has been realized. Most of the international tension derives from political aspirations, while the military factors increasingly reign in the spheres of the economy, of political and international contacts. As a result of this the foreign policy freedom of movement of both socialist and capitalist countries has narrowed and the role of unretain and incalculable factors has been intensified.

The internal contradictions of the capitalist world continue to be profound, but their possible military and political consequences are different today than they were a few decades ago. The existence of the Soviet Union and the socialist world system exercises a great influence on the forms in which the contradictions of the capitalist countries are manifested. NATO, brought into existence in opposition to the existing socialism, holds back in the political sphere and prevents in the military sphere the possibility that a sharpening of the conflicts among the members of an organization bringing together the overwhelming majority of the leading capitalist countries should lead to war. The military weight of the United States in the capitalist world makes it hopeless for others to initiate an armed conflict. As long as the two opposing military-political blocs exist it is unrealistic to suppose that a change will take place in any country belonging to these organizations which is contrary to the general socio-political aspect of the bloc. The breakup of the colonial system, the achievement of independence

for its countries, the potential support of the existing socialism and the mutual solidarity of the developing countries prevent the leading capitalist countries from ensuring themselves new acquisitions or sales markets by military means. The few armed interventions, primarily American inspired, can be classified in essence as rear guard actions aimed at saving rotten authoritarian and vassal systems.

The large scale scientific-technical and economic development which has taken place in the capitalist countries in the past four decades and the strengthening of the democratic aspects of internal political life and international contacts also play a role in the fact that total wars are disappearing from the arsenal of world policies as tools for acquiring new markets and higher profits. The powder kegs of local wars derive primarily from the internal socio-political conflicts of the countries or groups of countries of a given region or from the conflicts among them. Although the several developed capitalist countries may have a large role in provoking and deepening the crisis, the conflicts of interest appearing in this area do not lead and cannot lead to armed conflict among them.

A possible new world war may differ from every war known thus far in history not only in its all destroying effect but also in the composition and quality of its participants. A new world war can come about only between socialism and capitalism, even though the mutual possession and possibility of use of nuclear weapons rules out the victory of either side, because this war could hardly have survivors. Not one of the important weapons of the world war arsenal now available has been tested in practice, and this further increases the risk of incalculable consequences. It is a reality of our age that the duel between the two opposed social systems cannot be decided by means of weapons; as a result the concept of a just war loses its meaning in this regard. Avoiding a new world war is an objective necessity imperative for both sides; and this presumes the honoring of peaceful coexistence and sets the limits of confrontation. It is a peculiarity of the present age that while in the previous wars of mankind the several peoples and countries had a realistic possibility of choice regarding whose side to take--in regard to the just and unjust cause of the opposing sides--the possibility of the use of the present nuclear arsenals permits only one choice: One must take the antiwar side independent of ideological-political commitment.

There continues to be no rational alternative to peaceful coexistence, and regarding the essence from this viewpoint it is immaterial whether the opposing sides accept this objective circumstance or not. Respecting it is a basic condition for survival for the countries affected. But the relationship of subjective, political factors to the maintenance of peaceful coexistence, to its practical realization, is an extraordinarily important element, because a reactionary foreign policy undermines and constructive behavior strengthens the foundations of coexistence. In the thermonuclear age detente or cold war are not merely manifestational forms of the spread or narrowing of peaceful coexistence but rather are equivalent with avoiding or strengthening the danger of a hot war. The capacity for mutual destruction puts a limit to the East-West confrontation, and the recent strengthening of this capacity weakens the factors hindering a warlike clash. As a consequence

the chief content of a detente policy today is represented not merely by a furthering of normal and many-sided contacts; it is equivalent with deliberate action aimed at preventing a world war.

The present situation is also unique in this respect, that the existing bilateral and multilateral East-West agreements are valid primarily for the European socialist and economically developed capitalist countries, primarily for those belonging to the alliance systems. In the world outside the European countries and the United States and Canada there is no considerable pact which would systematize and regulate in the form of an agreement the behavior of countries with different social systems in the other areas. In other words, there is no regional-political status quo built on a consideration of the strategic interests of both sides. There are certain limits to action which neither party can go beyond without the immediate risk of world war, but this is built on extraordinarily fragile foundations. Experiences with the events taking place in the Near East area, for example, show that the United States, with its large scale support offered to the Israeli military aggression, can get involved in a broader international conflict, but it cannot permit itself in this area either a total challenge to the Soviet Union. Just as the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries cannot offer unlimited support to the countries and movements fighting against the Israeli aggression.

Most European capitalist countries are opposed to the behavior of the United States in the third world, even though the opposition is quite limited. The Europeans are opposed to the American military actions and direct support offered to maintain regimes which oppress the people; indeed, a number of Western European political parties, primarily the social democrats, aid the popular movements fighting against dictatorships. In the case of a number of countries or movements the material political solidarity of the European capitalist countries is consonant with the efforts of the socialist countries. There are common elements in the ideas and efforts pertaining to a possible settlement of local crisis points as well. At the same time, in recent years, the Western Europeans have yielded in part to the American pressure to have NATO assume a role as an organization in some areas outside its regional sphere. Since May 1981 the European NATO member states have taken over some tasks of the United States in the Near East, in Pakistan and in a number of other countries, presumably because the United States has undertaken a defense of the interests of the West in various regions of the developing world.

The emergence of military factors is deforming the spheres of the economy and of politics, and international relations are closely linked to these. The most serious thing that has happened in the new military developments affecting East-West relations in the first half of the 1980's is that the possibility of stopping an increase in the danger of war has decreased. It is a fundamental source of the present economic problems of the capitalist world that the American regime is giving priority to the development of military strength to a degree never experienced. The European and Arab capital sucked into the United States as a result of the unrealistically high state interest rates provide state subsidization for the armaments programs. The abnormal level of the state deficit thus produced threatens the international financial system with collapse. It cannot be imagined that even so

rich an economic potential as that of the United States can bear over the long run without serious consequences the burdens of an artificially pumped-up 14-15 percent interest rate instead of the 7-8 percent corresponding to the real economic requirements. And Western Europe pays for this American economic policy with a shortage of capital, and as a result of this with a slowing of the structural transformation, with serious financial disturbances, and before all else with massive chronic unemployment.

With ever new armaments programs the American regime wants to demonstrate that it is capable of seizing the strategic advantage by virtue of its economic-technical strength. It can hardly be presumed that the leadership of the United States wants to explode a new world war, because it sees clearly the fatal consequences of this. Even without exploding a world war the leading monopoly capitalist circles can ensure the realization of their economic interests attaching to increasing armaments; the stressed development of the military area ensures ever greater profits and has become a bearer and leading factor of scientific-technical development, the results of which are adapted very quickly in production for civilian purposes. It is also an essential circumstance that the extraordinarily sharp tone of the anti-Soviet rhetoric of the regime represents a reflection not only of a strengthening of the neo-conservative trend, this ideological propaganda also serves as a support to get public opinion to accept the new armaments programs. The high level statements and their inclusion within the framework of inter-state contacts which question the right to existence of the other side, of the social system of the Soviet Union, cause incalculable damage in international relations.

Increasing the military strength of the United States is accompanied by a further increase in the military and thus political dependence of Western Europe. New, more developed nuclear weapons are placed on their territory without their having a real say in their possible use in the final analysis. For this very reason the activity of the anti-nuclear weapons movements which have emerged throughout Western Europe have outstanding significance. The action of broad social strata against the danger of nuclear war expresses at the same time the recognition that this struggle is interlinked with the struggle being waged for a national self-determination to be realized in security policy, and above all that putting a brake on the American armaments programs could open the way for easing the econo-social problems and for creating new jobs.

It is well known that the perpetual costs of armaments represent gigantic and increasing burdens for the socialist countries, especially for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union today produces barely over a half of the production value which the United States produces. The substantially lower level national income must ensure keeping up in the armaments competition. And under the strategic-military power relationships which have developed the Soviet Union cannot permit the other side to gain an advantage, because this would mean the same thing as contributing to the danger of its own possible destruction. So maintaining the capacity for mutual destruction remains the most important factor for avoiding world war. The fact that the Geneva talks ended in failure and the intentions of the Soviet Union to come to an agreement miscarried due to the American behavior is also accompanied by far-reaching political consequences.

There has been a further decrease in the general confidence that it is possible to limit armaments with the Reagan administration. The conclusion is obvious that insofar as other disarmament proposals suffer a similar fate there hardly remains any considerable obstacle in the path toward adopting and realizing additional American armament programs. The seriousness of this factor goes far beyond the framework of increasing European tactical weapons.

For this very reason it is an urgent task for the European states to reexamine the military situation which has developed and the consequences of it, and first of all the directions of possible action. They must strive to reduce to the smallest possible magnitude the political damage which arose in the wake of the appearance of the new American missiles, and even more they must seek new political tools to guarantee security in the situation which has developed. From this viewpoint it would be of outstanding significance if NATO were to accept the proposal that the Warsaw Pact and NATO should sign an agreement concerning the mutual renunciation of the use of force and concerning peaceful contacts between the two military alliance systems.

In the most recent period the member states of the Warsaw Pact have submitted a number of other very important proposals to reduce the military-political opposition of the two world systems. The guiding principle of these is that neither side has privileges, that neither group of countries can create its lasting security at the expense of the other side. It is also the essence of these initiatives that the limits of confrontation should be fixed by means of pacts, agreements or treaties, fixing all those cooperation norms which can be tolerated by the objective opposition deriving from the difference of the social systems. They also have the extraordinarily important aspect that not a single proposal of the socialist countries harms the internal political relations of the capitalist countries or the principles and practice of their policies. Creating military detente no longer means simply restoring normal international relations. It means recognizing and implementing the realities of the age, conditions ensuring the survival of mankind.

The development of the socio-political and economic situations of the European socialist countries has a great effect on the entire continent. The shaping of economic policy and the economic mechanism are of outstanding importance among the internal processes. A modernization of economic guidance was formulated as a concrete task in the socialist countries at the beginning of the 1960's, but especially since 1965 in the wake of the Soviet reform decisions made then. But great waves, periods of sudden halts or growth, have followed one another in the development and practical realization of reform ideas.

The internal and external conditions of the reforms planned and executed in the second half of the 1960's differ significantly from the conditions today. The economic guidance innovations which started in most socialist countries then came to a halt, because the reform measures introduced did not put an end to the problems and contradictions of economic life in the short term.

This circumstance provided an occasion for the confrontation of different economic guidance ideas. Ideological-political extremes played a role in this also. Since the economic policy conceptions formulated by the Czechoslovak Ota Sik and his associates in 1967-1968, although they contained many rational elements, became mixed with political demands opposed to socialism, they cause serious harm to reform processes beyond the borders of the country also; and the 1970 political events in Poland had negative effects also. In a unique way the unfolding of detente and the new dimensions for economic contacts were accompanied by disadvantageous consequences for the economic renewal of most socialist countries too. The "flourishing period" of detente coincided with a period of boom in the capitalist world, with plenty of large scale credit. The explosive increase in the prices of fuels and then of raw materials in 1973 and thereafter affected the majority of the socialist countries seriously too. In the new situation the requirement for a modernization of the obsolete production structure, the economic guidance system and the CEMA mechanism became even more urgent. It would have been necessary to introduce new development and consumption policies evidencing a high degree of self-restraint. Instead of this it proved more obvious to make use of the amply available capitalist credits, with the aid of which it was possible to maintain the relatively high rate of growth. The sure policies of detente and the guarantee of a socialist state meant for the capitalist financial institutions solid material cover for the repayment of the credits.

In the event of a normal international political atmosphere and a continuation of the world economic boom, and in the event of appropriate internal economic policy changes, the swift and large scale indebtedness of the several socialist countries would not have been accompanied by drastic consequences. The combined effect of a number of negative factors appearing almost simultaneously caused a deepening of the difficulties; something similar to it had not happened before. The continued worsening of the international situation and the demands for armaments forced by NATO caused an increase in unproductive consumption in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. The unparalleled increase in interest rates on the capitalist market made new credits more expensive and significantly increased the burdens of their repayment. And the rigidities of the internal economic system prevented the use of the capitalist credits in a rational way, in the interest of a real technological modernization of the national economy which would create an effective, lasting economic base for repayment. The deepening of the capitalist recession and the strengthening protectionism further increased the problems of debt repayment, of open economies. The new confrontational American economic policy and the use of embargoes in East-West relations were also accompanied by unfavorable effects.

The socialist countries that were affected introduced vigorous restraints in the 1980's, which proved unavoidable in the situation which had developed. The outstanding debt was reduced in a relatively brief time, but it was necessary to pay for this with a significant moderation of internal accumulation and consumption, and this weakened the possibilities for further development for a number of years. But the situation which developed put new requirements in the foreground also. In the majority of European socialist countries there strengthened a recognition, together with the stabilization measures, that a reform of economic life was a task which could not be

postponed. The modernization of economic guidance began in the second half of the 1970's and has become increasingly the practice since the beginning of the 1980's.

There are many similarities in the efforts aimed at a modernization of economic policy--putting quality requirements in the foreground and switching the economy to the intensive path. In most of the countries they are dealing with a development of the guidance system, increasing enterprise independence, modernizing planning, modifying the price system and a very broad development of material incentive. On the other hand it is true that the reforms are not proceeding in the same way or at the same rate in the various socialist countries. The search for paths is taking place in basically two directions. In some countries they are perfecting the plan directive, centralized guidance system; other socialist states are striving to adopt indirect methods--gradually building commodity and financial relationships into their economic armamentarium--and for a rational decentralization of guidance.

It is a general characteristic of these efforts that they are built on the fundamental laws of socialism, on the principle of the primacy of social property and distribution according to work. The unique characteristics of the various countries are reflected in the differences in their search for paths, and as a result the multiplicity of the economic mechanisms of the socialist countries is increasing. The theoretical foundation for this is provided by the thesis according to which the general laws of socialism must be applied in accordance with national conditions. The changes in the system of economic guidance have an effect on the forms of cooperation also. The economic mechanisms are linked and approach one another not automatically but rather in a process of synthesization of fundamental goals and trends. The variegation of the economic guidance systems requires ever more complex, effective and dynamic harmonization of interests in the contacts.

A political, ideological search for paths also accompanies the development of the economic system. The Communist party guides the process everywhere, and the party is responsible for the progress just as much as for the sudden halts. In different forms to be sure, but everywhere an adjustment of the system of political tools to the new economic requirements is on the agenda, but in such a way that it will create a uniform process with the strengthening of the power institutions of socialism. We might mention as an example that the economic reform introduced in Poland at the beginning of 1982 was called on to demonstrate primarily--in addition to the economic necessity which had become oppressive--the political renewal intent of the leadership, in close unity with a defense of the positions of the socialist power.

We can take it as a starting point that in the socialist countries the reform cannot be directed at changing the fundamental elements of the socialist economy, just as there cannot be a turn in political practice which might provoke a break in the character and substantive questions of the power. The steps taken by the socialist countries in this area show that modifying the management system is accompanied by political changes such as, primarily, strengthening the role of political-power institutions in forming economic conditions and rationalizing the relationships between managing units and party and state organs. In the ideological area the changes derive directly

from the new realities and requirements interdependent with a strengthening of the role of commodity and financial relationships.

Everywhere, almost without exception, economic necessity brings about the political-ideological changes in question. Disrupting the harmony of the two causes serious problems not only within the several countries but also in relations between various socialist countries.

The econo-political changes taking place in the socialist countries, the intensive developments in the economic and political sense alike, are important for the Western European states. They are directly interested in the repayment of the debts being unimpeded, in strengthening the producing and cooperating capacity of the socialist partners. Building up new elements ensuring further economic development is for them indispensable for expanding contacts. Projecting the new aspects that are appearing in economic life onto the socio-political area, we can be witness to a new phenomenon. The essence of this is that a definite mutual effect is developing among the European countries with different social systems, the immunity in regard to processes taking place in the countries of the other half is disappearing. The negative tendencies appearing in the capitalist world economy, the production, marketing and financial disturbances, ripple into the socialist countries, and vice versa, the internal economic problems or the reforms here have an effect on the total European situation, on contacts among the states of the continent. Going beyond the economic sphere, this is valid for the area of inter-state political relations too. The lessons of the events in Poland which took place in 1980 are a good example of the new situation. The behavior of the realistically thinking political leadership circles of the Western European countries differed substantially from the reaction to the events in Hungary in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968. In connection with the Polish crisis, unlike the earlier ones, their behavior was characterized fundamentally by the fact that they did not want to sharpen the tensions which had developed in Poland and around it; indeed, they cooperated in the normalization of the situation on the spot.

In contrast to this behavior of the United States was characterized by the fact that from the beginning they employed every possible means to force a turn-about favorable to them during the time of the Polish crisis. The behavioral difference was especially striking in connection with the martial law established in December 1981. Throughout Western Europe the protests did not take on a confrontational character, while the United States used drastic economic-political reprisals which over the long run are seriously harming the process of normalization in Poland. A good number of the Western European regimes, on the other hand, recognized that Europe was interested in the existence of a stable Poland and that the social, political-military status quo which had developed could not be changed by force. On a broader horizon, the ordered internal conditions of the socialist countries, a further perfection of socialist democracy and a modernization of the systems of political tools are all-European interests, and all these things have a considerable effect on consolidating the peaceful coexistence of the European peoples.

The new economic processes which unfolded in the United States in the early 1980's affected the Western European partners extraordinarily unfavorably. In the background of the events lies the fact that in earlier years the United States came into a relative disadvantage in a number of important economic areas as compared to Western Europe and Japan. Between 1960 and 1980 the American share in the gross production value produced by the capitalist world fell from 53 percent to 35 percent; the rate of growth in the productivity of American industry in this same period lagged significantly behind that of the other capitalist countries, and it did not keep up in the area of improving the social situation of workers either. The new economic policy of the Republican regime, its steps to accelerate scientific-technical progress and within this to support the development of leading branches, the swift development of the military area and the broad application of the technical achievements of this in a relatively short time have yielded considerable results. The United States has caught up; new, leading production-technology bases have gradually come into being with which, at present, only Japanese technology can keep up in some areas, and in a number of sectors the leading role of the American economy has further strengthened. A shift is also taking place in the economic emphasis of the capitalist world in the regional area. The new peak technology production centers which have developed and which are growing stronger in the central and western areas of the United States have established close contacts primarily with the industrially developed countries of the Pacific Ocean region, primarily with Japan, and in this sense also the world economic significance of Western Europe has decreased.

This new American economic policy has gradually produced a disadvantageous situation for Western Europe. The high interest on credit and the migration of European loan capital have deepened further the problems produced by the world market price explosion for raw and primary materials and made the general economic stagnation permanent. The rate of exchange for the dollar, pushed up and at a record level for years, weakened the situation of European foreign exchanges, and although the high value of the dollar decreased the competitiveness of the export of American enterprises aimed at Western European markets the increasing protectionism of the United States makes difficult the export directed there, and has strengthened the international protectionist tendencies in general.

In the wake of all this the transformation of the production structure in the capitalist region of Europe has slowed substantially, the process of technological backwardness has increased, and Western Europe as a whole is getting into an increasingly disadvantageous situation as opposed to the United States and Japan.

Going beyond the military-political ties, the prospects for relations between the United States and Western Europe are influenced fundamentally by the fact that the United States has won its central position on the international money and credit market. The United States has a number of advantages compared to Europe in the competition for capital import because the receptive capacity of the American internal capital market, the variety of interest-paying securities offered by the government and the possibilities for real estate investment are a good bit larger than in Western Europe. At the same

time, the largest American banks, because of their size, are more suitable for accepting as deposits and passing on as loans the significant so-called liquid oil capital. In order to prevent the capital migration which started as a result of the American interest rate policies a few Western European banks of issue have been forced to maintain high interest rates. But the high interest does not favor investment; they are retaining the capital inoperative, this does not contribute to boosting the economy.

In the final analysis the United States is forcing the Western European countries to conduct a largely similar economic policy with uniform basic principles in which a possibility hardly remains for the realization of autonomous internal economic strategies. It is an example of this that even France, under socialist leadership, has been forced to abandon its economic experiments and switch to a conservative economic policy. As a result of the combined effect of the economic and political factors the economic conflict of interests between the United States and Western Europe has increased. With the interest rate policies and the capital withdrawal, the artificially high rate of exchange of the dollar and the mutual protectionism these conflicts of interest are appearing in the trade conducted with the socialist countries, in international agricultural policy, in the technological competition and in the competition for service markets. The latter two also exercise a direct influence on the economic contacts of America and Western Europe.

The United States has an advantage in the services sphere, broadly interpreted. It has won dominant positions in the areas of banks, insurance, professional consulting institutions, telecommunications and information, transportation and electronic "software" services. By this means it has gained a further advantage in the economic structural change taking place, which further influences to its benefit the technological competition which has developed. With the change in industrial structure, the ever more determining role of the electronics branches and the beginning of the age of personal computers the technological gap between the United States and Western Europe has increased. The United States has a monopoly not only in the most important military technologies, it has also put Western Europe in a dependent situation in the areas of computer technology, biotechnology and information sciences.

One cannot make the economic policy of the United States solely responsible for the economic setbacks of Western Europe. A role has been played in the economic backwardness of Western Europe by economic guidance deficiencies, obsolete industrial structures (which are frequently most significant precisely in the nationalized sphere), technological backwardness, the slow movement toward the "new economy" and the large budget deficits. Increasing export possibilities has not contributed to reducing unemployment either. The slowness of economic change in Western Europe is indicated by the fact that while the number of new jobs in Europe increased by an average 0.5 percent in the past decade it increased in the United States by 15 percent. But the effect of the American economy can be demonstrated even in the positive Western European trends. An upswing of some size is appearing in the economies of several countries of Western Europe in 1984. This fact is unambiguously linked to the American economic upswing, while the slowness

or uncertainty of the upswing can be attributed in good part to the internal economic structure and factors of the European countries.

The determining character and advantage of the American economy in comparison to Western Europe may strengthen further in the years ahead. The United States has the largest internal market, energy and raw material sources, relative economic independence and an autonomy which makes protectionism effective and ensures the conditions necessary for economic policy changes; the significant advantage in development and research potential and in the area of information and a powerful innovation capacity represent a sure guarantee of its further superiority.

The deepening conflicts of interest among the member states of the Common Market make the situation more difficult. The community has not been able to solve the financial problems connected with the differences in national production conditions, overproduction and economic stagnation. The essence of the difficulties can be formulated in the fact that the organization lacks the material resources to play a coordinating role above nations--especially in a period of decline--and lacks effective tools for bridging over the contradictions between the national interests of the several member countries and the general interests of the community. The joining of such countries as Spain and Portugal may strengthen the contradictions further, especially in the agricultural area.

The political movement taking place in Western Europe has arisen primarily on the soil of the newly appearing econo-social tensions, but the changes which have also taken place in international political relations have had a significant effect. Events show that what is involved is not some sort of new conservative wave or right-wing landslide. It is a fact that in recent years the social democrats have been replaced by conservative-bourgeois regimes in Great Britain, then in the FRG, Denmark and Belgium. But there was a socialist party government breakthrough in France, Greece and Spain and social democracy is again on top in Sweden. It is also an essential circumstance that the extreme right wing has not forged ahead in a single Western European state. Nor has there been any considerable change in the situation of the Communist parties, in their weight in public life. At the same time, the forging ahead of the environmental protection movements, the "greens," made up largely of young people and their increasing weight in public life offer many lessons for the labor movement.

A review of the parliamentary elections and experiences in changes of government shows that the voting masses in the countries of Western Europe continue to be unconcerned with fundamental ideological-political problems. The demand for change is concentrated to a crucial degree on everyday, concrete econo-social questions. At present, the chronic and increasing unemployment has greater weight than any other socio-political problem. Under the conditions of a lasting recession the trade unions are being forced to compromise too, because according to the experiences the working strata will accept even a temporary reduction in real income under the heading of preserving jobs. The powerful camp of the unemployed, numbering 13 million people, is exercising pressure on the leadership of the various countries,

beyond government changes, which has an effect in the direction of national selfishness, a protectionist turning inward. Within the frameworks of political rotation the government chances have increased for those parties the program of which promises more effective guarantees for moderating the uncertainty of existence and for a more stable econo-social policy. The events of recent years have confirmed that despite worsening difficulties a revolutionary situation has not come into being anywhere in Western Europe, because the worsening of the living circumstances of the broad popular masses has far from reached the intolerable.

The significance for Western Europe of economic cooperation with the socialist countries has increased in the situation which has developed. It would be an illusion to presume that these contacts would represent a remedy for the strained economic troubles of the European capitalist countries. But it is a fact that they would help expand production, satisfy concrete economic needs and not least of all contribute to maintaining jobs or increasing their numbers. Preserving and further expanding economic contacts is also of fundamental interest to the socialist countries, because it accelerates their scientific-technical progress and contributes significantly to satisfying production and commodity supply needs. And under the prevailing tense international conditions East-West economic contacts play a sort of mediating and stabilizing role in the area of strengthening mutual interests in the maintenance of peaceful relations. This is evidenced by the fact that in recent years economic contacts have developed between virtually every European socialist and capitalist state.

In the midst of East-West relations which have become more tense, and despite the American restraining embargo efforts, the economic cooperation among the European countries has expanded further in recent years. The share of the socialist countries in the import of Western Europe was 5.2 percent (38.3 billion dollars) in 1979; in 1982 it was 6.4 percent (47.1 billion dollars). The increase in commodity shipments by the Soviet Union is especially significant within this. It was 19.5 billion dollars (a 2.6 percent share) in 1979 and 28.1 billion dollars (a 3.8 percent share) in 1982. Let us note that in regard to magnitude the share of the United States in the import of Western Europe is about the same as that of the socialist countries. In 1949 it was 6.7 percent (49.2 billion dollars) and in 1982 it was 7.5 percent (69.9 billion dollars). The Soviet Union plays an especially important role in satisfying the petroleum and natural gas needs of the Western European states. Although in the years in question the Western European countries took effective steps to reduce petroleum use, the share of the petroleum deliveries of the Soviet Union in the import of the capitalist states of the continent increased in the years mentioned from 5.5 to 6 percent while that of natural gas increased from 21 to 23.7 percent. The slight moderation in the volume of Western European export to the socialist countries was caused primarily by the fact that in most CEMA member states the need to pay off debts and conserve foreign exchange made necessary a temporary reduction in capitalist import.

Looking at the future of economic contacts between European socialist and capitalist countries the most essential aspect is that following the period of the cold war these have not been tied to political conditions. The

difference in social systems does not represent an objective obstacle, because the economic contacts do not endanger the security interests of the affected countries interdependent with their alliance affiliation. In addition it is an essential circumstance that in the material sphere the cooperation is bolstered by a series of medium-range and long-range interstate cooperation agreements. The possibilities for stability are indicated by the fact that in recent years the socialist countries affected have made effective efforts to reduce the outstanding debt which had accumulated, as a result of which the financial tension connected with this had moderated considerably even in 1983.

Further effective steps are needed to consolidate the foundations for East-West economic contacts. We must reckon with the fact that for a good number of years yet the economic development of the socialist countries will be characterized by low rates of growth and investment activity, slow structural transformation and a shortage of goods in some areas. With great certainty we can count on another decline in the Western economies in the mid-1980's. Adapting to the new global economic requirements is a complicated and at least a medium-range task the solution of which will require the development of more new tools of economic policy in the interest of the complete development of intensive management. The planned management system of the socialist countries makes necessary a guarantee of fixed market conditions in East-West contacts, thus the creation of more cooperation agreements for at least the medium range.

Breaking down the discrimination walls is an urgent task, because these hinder the freer flow of goods between the two halves of Europe. The experiences of recent years show that a path which can be followed appears to be the signing of agreements between the several member states of CEMA and the organization of the Common Market which take into consideration the national conditions of the countries affected and the regulations of the community, and which take into consideration on the political level the objective requirements of increased participation in the international division of labor.

In the area of political contacts chief priority should be given to those possible common efforts which are aimed at avoiding the danger of a new world war. The effectiveness of these efforts is not influenced to any considerable extent by which political party is in the government in a given Western European country. The events which took place in East-West relations in 1983-1984 show that the conservative regimes are no less active in the area of conducting dialogue and contacts and searching for a way out than the social democrat or bourgeois liberal forces in power. Such behavior would have been unimaginable at the time of the cold war of the 1950's. It is also a general experience that political parties forced into the opposition take a more radical position and act more harshly against armaments and confrontation efforts than those in government positions. The German Social Democratic Party (SPD), which had a significant role in accepting the 12 December 1979 resolution of NATO, harshly opposed the deployment of the new American missiles after its reign ended, and with this, for the first time since 1953, it rejected a decision of the North Atlantic Alliance.

Thus, continuing East-West political contacts is of interest to every sober, realistically thinking social element. Historical experiences prove that contacts and fact finding positions constitute the basis for developing mutual compromises. It is well known that in the internal political relations of Western Europe changes pointing to an unfavorable direction have taken place in the course of recent years also from the viewpoint of developing international contacts. Earlier the striking aspects of French foreign policy included maintaining a sort of distance from the United States and the Soviet Union, which meant assuming a certain balancing role in the East-West relations. In recent years, however, official France has become more Atlantic in its security policy and in a number of other areas, and its mediating role has decreased. For more than 10 years the reigning social liberal regime of the FRG significantly increased the international importance and respect of the country with its so-called Eastern policy and independent initiatives in many directions. The closer tie of the new government to the foreign policy of the United States interferes with the assumption of a more active role in Europe.

At the same time the significance of the international activity of the European countries of small and medium size has increased in the tension-causing East-West problems. A number of initiatives and proposals for their part have come on the agenda which, without hurting the framework of the Warsaw Pact or NATO alliance systems, could help reduce the military-political tension. We can regard as new, favorable patches of color in the European political relations the high degree of activity which can be experienced on the part of the neutral and uncommitted countries of the continent, their activity aimed at working out compromises between states belonging to the two military-political blocs.

The socialist countries do not and cannot have any aspirations of turning the states of Western Europe against the United States. The United States is the natural ally of the majority of the European capitalist countries considering their social arrangements and military-security position. At the same time, it is a fact that the new American armaments programs and confrontation aspirations are not in harmony with the real interests of Western Europe. The ever spreading anxiety, uncertainty and activity in recent years due to the American military-political steps is a reflection of this increasing recognition.

In the relations which they maintain with the Western European states the socialist countries are striving to strengthen the common interests existing in East-West relations, to decrease the military opposition and the danger of a military confrontation, to settle international problems by discussions and political means. Understanding the real political intentions and recognizing and exchanging the values of creative work are indispensable for finally putting an end to suspicion and animosity among the European peoples. The member states of the Warsaw Pact, just as much as Western Europe, constitute organic parts of the European continent, not only geographically but also in the econo-political, cultural sense.

Hungarian foreign policy is Europe-centric, in accordance with the conditions of the country and the functioning of the Warsaw Pact. Hungary participates

actively in formulating the standpoints and initiatives of the socialist community and in realizing them, according to its possibilities. As a result of its economic openness, participation in the international division of labor is of determining significance for it. In its trade the share of the exchange of goods with European states is about 85 percent and more than three quarters of its production cooperation agreements have been established with countries of the continent. It is fundamentally interested in developing ordered, balanced contacts with every country of the region, even amidst changing circumstances. A further development of economic cooperation with the European socialist countries, primarily with the Soviet Union, and in harmony with this a modernization of the functioning of the CEMA mechanism is of determining significance for it. At the same time, it has taken important initiatives to regularize contacts with the European Community, to create foundations for long-term cooperation and to break down the walls of discrimination.

The Hungarian People's Republic is open for political contacts and dialogue with every sober, realistically thinking, socio-political element with constructive intentions. This was expressed in the situation which developed in the wake of the beginning of deployment of the new American missiles too. Continuing the high level contacts with the European capitalist states proved indispensable for a mutual exposition of the causes of the new international circumstances, disclosing possibilities for a path leading out of the situation and preserving detente. In regard to the period ahead also maintaining international activity laid the foundation for the possibility of continuing normal East-West relations.

By virtue of its cultural heritage and progressive traditions the Hungarian people is tied to the European continent; its past and present are inseparable from the development of the fate of the European nations. Hungary is ready to accept all true cultural values, creation or aspiration with a progressive spirit. The international recognition of its cultural achievements and spiritual richness also has a great role in the fact that it can be host to the Cultural Forum implementing the proposals of the Helsinki accord.

In many directions the European activity of Hungarian foreign policy is also of vital importance to the country because little states, like Hungary, because of their limited possibilities, suffer to a greater extent the negative consequences deriving from a halt to detente than do countries with greater strength. For this reason averting the dangers threatening peace and the fruitful coexistence of the European people represents at the same time a common, universal interest and the present and future interests of socialist construction work.

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CONFLICTING VIEWS NO LONGER NOVELTY ON RADIO, TV

Budapest RADIO ES TV UJSAG in Hungarian 9-15 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Janos Boros]

[Text] Radio and television are increasingly becoming the scene for opinions, debates and comments. After the era of declarations, conclusions intended to be incontrovertible, and unmistakable official texts we are beginning to learn the rules of the game of exchanging ideas. The viewer or listener is not surprised any more today if opinions and facts clash in the program, he is glad to follow the battle of reasons, and is glad if someone without prejudice gives him direction in it. And we also like when at the end the program gives us the chance to draw the conclusions, to form our own position.

Hearing such programs the viewer, the listener himself also becomes more active, thinks together with the conversing parties, the opinion givers, uses the opportunities to comment, follows with sensitivity to sportsmanlike conduct the debate developing as he hears it, and immediately groans if he experiences (or feels) that the--not at all unwritten--rules of debate are violated.

Two programs were heard recently which can be listed here. The two programs were similar to the extent that both were built on an enterprise's general manager and neither of them addressed any very great topic: both had to do with transportation. But this is where the similarity ends, because one of them showed the present, today's (and a little bit of tomorrow's) concept of program preparation: it was wide ranging, open conflict of reasons and thoughts. The other quoted the past: the way broadcasts of earlier eras reasoned, debated and what tools they used. (This time a TV program represented the past methods and practice, and a radio program provided the good example, but this had no significance, it could also have been the other way around.)

In the program prepared with the even today not completely obsolete method the general manager gave the correct answers according to his own convictions to the reporter's questions, referring to profitability and facts. The reporter did not agree with what he heard, and said so during the breaks. It would also have been good if he said his beseechingly-voiced comments

during the conversation. But in the strict sense of the word he uttered them in between: interrupting the interview here and there, during the course of recordings spliced in afterwards. And since the interviewee thus could not hear the comments, he was unable to respond to them, and the interview taped earlier just rolled on as if nothing had happened. Thus, the general manager and his statement were at the mercy of technology, abusing its opportunities as it pleased. And the viewer, who perhaps would have agreed with the content of the spliced-in complaints, was by this unsympathetic solution driven over to side with the person making the statement.

The good example was served up by a morning program. The words of that other general manager were also heard within the framework of an interview. Here also the reporter did not agree completely with his partner, and this was clearly seen from a series of questions. Therefore, the general manager could tell his position about every part of the topic. And there was a later comment about this interview also (but here it really was made later), but this was built completely on what was heard during the interview and did not call for additional reaction. And the sympathetic solution did have the effect: open statement of the opinions moved a whole series of telephone callers to comment. And these were also given room in the program regardless of with whom or on what they agreed. The listener could judge them himself.

And one more thing was discovered upon hearing this latter broadcast: not only the pleasant melody, not only the music we like can generate a good mood in people in the morning, but also the atmosphere in which some such impromptu clashes of opinion can take place.

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SURVEY REVEALS RADIO'S MOST POPULAR PROGRAMS

Budapest RADIO ES TV UJSAG in Hungarian 23-29 Jul 84 p 6

[Article: "Radio Mirror: Prosaic Programs"]

[Text] Continuing the browsing, in the report of the program observation service--they examined the week between 2-8 April--let us see what we find in it about informative programs, reporting and service programs, weeklies, comments, and publicity, all aimed at adults. Naturally, the number of listeners to these is much smaller than for the entertaining programs, but let us not forget that even 1 percent means 80,000 people, and 4 percent is nearly one-third of a million!

The Ones Most Frequently Listened To

During the Day (Thursday P [Petofi Radio, or Program No 2] 8:35 AM)	13%
Radio Magazine (Sunday K [Kossuth Radio, or Program No 1] 9 AM)	9%
What is the Message from the Radio? (Monday K 8:24 AM)	8%
We Reply to Our Listeners (Monday K 12:45 PM)	8%
168 Hours (Saturday K 4 PM)	7%
Around the Earth in 30 Minutes (Sunday K 12:05 PM)	6%
World News (Monday P 1:25 PM)	5%
For Our Daily Bread (Monday P 5 PM)	5%
At the Peak (Monday P 8:50 PM)	5%
Book of Laws (Tuesday K 12:45 PM)	5%
Ten Minutes of Foreign Policy (Friday P 8:20 AM)	5%
Meetings [Encounters] (Sunday K 7:23 AM)	5%
Biorhythm (Monday K 11:21 AM)	5%
Ten Minutes of Foreign Policy (Monday K 10:20 PM)	4%
Ten Minutes of Foreign Policy (Tuesday P 8:20 AM)	4%
Parallel Bibliographies (Wednesday K 9 AM)	4%
April Fool (Friday P 9:41 AM)	4%
Do More with Brain (Saturday P 10:35 AM)	4%
Soccer (Saturday P 4:35 PM)	4%

So this is how many people listened to the various programs--at least to the most popular 19--but how well did they like them? As we know, the polled audience can evaluate what they have heard by assigning point values between 0 and 100. According to the experience of the public opinion researchers the programs with over 80 points can be considered clearly successful.

The Best Liked Ones

On Track of a Life's Work (Wednesday K 4:30 PM)	91 pts.
One Swallow of the Sea (Sunday K 12:04 PM)	89 pts.
Book of Laws (Tuesday K 12:45 PM)	85 pts.
What is the Message from the Radio? (Monday K 8:24 AM)	84 pts.
Biorhythm (Monday K 11:21 AM)	84 pts.
We Reply to Our Listeners (Monday K 12:45 PM)	84 pts.
Ten Minutes of Foreign Policy (Tuesday P 8:20 AM)	84 pts.
Around the Earth in 30 Minutes (Sunday K 12:05 PM)	84 pts.
News About Us in the World (Wednesday K 7:05 PM)	83 pts.
At the Peak (Monday P 8:50 PM)	82 pts.
Policemen in Hats (Friday K 5:44 PM)	82 pts.
Radio Magazine (Sunday K 9 AM)	82 pts.
World News (Monday P 1:25 PM)	81 pts.
Parallel Bibliographies (Wednesday K 9 AM)	81 pts.
For Our Health (Friday P 3:35 PM)	81 pts.
Encounters (Sunday K 7:23 AM)	81 pts.
Ten Minutes of Foreign Policy (Monday K 10:20 PM)	80 pts.
Do More with Brain (Saturday P 8:35 PM)	80 pts.
If you Did not Know this (Sunday P 2 PM)	80 pts.

It seems the listeners of these prose programs are more knowledgeable than the population in general. We draw this conclusion from the fact that 12 of the most listened-to programs made it to the top 19 of the most successful ones. Thus, those listen to these programs who are interested in the topic, the really "targeted" audience, those for whom they are made. The largest number of programs--seven--were heard on Monday, and the Monday and Sunday programs were best liked.

How Are Results Born?

Perhaps it is not without interest in regard to some programs to examine how many percent of the different genders, ages, educational background, and those living in various settlements listened to them, and what point values they gave.

[see Table, next page]

		(1) Halló, itt vagyok! (hétfő K. 22.30)	(2) Nyílik a róza (kedd K. 19.15)	(3) Déli Krónika (péntek K. 12.00)	(4) Jacobi-est (hétfő P. 20.00)	(5) Töltsön egy órát! (szerda P. 10.35)
		H T	H T	H T	H T	H T
(6)	férfiak	11 75	14 88	16 83	6 87	18 77
(7)	nők	13 76	18 90	18 83	6 88	18 80
(8)	29 év alatt	11 75	7 91	6 80	— 79	24 82
(9)	30—49 évesek	12 81	19 84	15 86	7 86	24 76
(10)	50 év felett	12 71	19 95	26 81	7 91	9 82
(11)	8 ált. alatt	10 77	28 93	24 82	5 90	9 84
(12)	8 általános	10 85	15 86	16 82	5 87	22 80
(13)	középiskola	14 62	7 93	12 84	6 87	22 73
(14)	egyetem	25 71	5 75	10 96	11 86	28 79
(15)	Budapest	20 71	9 81	15 81	10 90	22 75
(16)	város	12 76	15 89	18 84	5 90	20 83
(17)	község	9 79	19 91	17 83	4 85	16 79
(18)	átlag	12 76	16 89	17 83	6 88	18 79

Key:

- (H = listeners, T = how well liked)
1. Hello, I'm here! (Monday K 10:30 PM)
 2. The Rose Is in Bloom (Tuesday K 7:15 PM)
 3. Noontime Chronicle (Friday K 12 noon)
 4. Jacobi Evening (Monday P 8 PM)
 5. Spend an Hour (Wednesday P 10:35 PM)
 6. Men
 7. Women
 8. Under 29 Years of Age
 9. 30-49 Years of Age
 10. Over 50
 11. Less than 8th Grade
 12. 8th Grade
 13. High School
 14. University
 15. Budapest
 16. Cities
 17. Towns
 18. Average

The number groups within the various boxes, the differences and similarities depending on the program are very revealing; they say a lot.

And finally, let us look at--as reflected by the seven programs examined--how much time, how many minutes we spent every day and per program, listening to the radio?

	<u>Kossuth</u>	<u>Petofi</u>	<u>3rd Program</u>
Monday	107	155	1
Tuesday	57	73	1
Wednesday	39	48	2
Thursday	37	78	3
Friday	42	72	1
Saturday	41	42	1
Sunday	31	49	1
Total for the Week	355	518	10

That is, we listened to the radio for 14 and three-quarter hours during the first week of April, and the point values qualified it as a good medium week.

8584

CSO: 2500/554

STUDENTS POLITICIZED ON UNIVERSITY REFORM ISSUE

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Mar 84 p 7

[Interview with Istvan Bessenyei, sociologist at the Research Institute, by Ervin Csizmadia: "Openly or on a Side-track; Discussion about University Policies"]

[Text] A few years ago a study was published in the magazine VALOSAG at the beginning of which the authors quoted the words of Tibor Erdey-Gruz: "Let us not harass our system of higher education with repeated reforms of necessarily limited utility....Let us concentrate instead in the next decade on working out the problems with and testing the new system of higher education." Have we worked them out, have we tested the new kind of higher educational system in the sense of the words written in 1971? According to what was learned at the recently-held youth parliament on higher education even now we are only at the beginning of this process and as we have seen, whatever there is, is a development plan rather than a reform concept. And--as the youth parliament's resolution also emphasized--a reform is needed even under today's difficult circumstances. The university's youth defined its position clearly and actively: it has learned to politicize. But is this how things really are in the everyday practice? How "able to act" is today's class of university students? We talked about this with the author of the above-mentioned study: sociologist Istvan Bessenyei, co-worker at the Educational Research Institute.

[Question] How does the university shape the behavior and public life activity of its students?

[Answer] I can mention at least three basic action-motivating factors. The first one is: what kinds of action alternatives are available in studying, the most important activity? Studying is determined by the university's organizational framework, the specialization of science in branches. The instructors are living in a unique dual role: they do research according to the logic of science, and they should teach according to the logic of

didactics, or improvement of abilities. The two viewpoints do not necessarily coincide and this also causes problems for the students. The instructors are judged primarily on the basis of their scientific titles and the number of their publications, and this is more important in their progress than their pedagogic activity. All this leads to the students being sentenced mostly to the role of passive receivers in acquiring knowledge. At the ELTE [Lorand Etvos University of Sciences] this has been for a long time the focal point of criticism by the students. Indeed, very thorough and comprehensive reform plans have also been prepared, for example, for modernizing the teaching of mathematics, history or pedagogy. The most attentive class of students tries again and again to analyze the circumstances, define transformation strategies, but must repeatedly experience the rigidity of conditions. It is useless for the youth parliament to exist if the overcentralized university structure is not suitable for maturing and introducing the ideas and suggestions heard there.

[Question] The many suggestions made by the students and lost in the shuffle can make even the most devoted individuals to lose heart. What do they do?

[Answer] That group of students which desires action the most but feels that the given action opportunities are narrow, endeavor to find other routes and build up another "alternative public forum." These have varied formats: the debates can be restricted to friendly companies, the aborted suggestions may pop up in radicalized form in the underground literature or protesting rock music. The channels for political action are deficient; they inevitably drive the youth toward the media of action within the subculture.

[Question] Somebody told me that the university students do not do, say or suggest anything about which they could not debate. But it seems that in most places they are wary of the efforts of youth coming from down below, they see a danger in it. Even though the students are only looking for a solution. But why is the solution so difficult to find?

[Answer] Let us look at the viewpoints of the teachers at first. The more an instructor deals with questions of a subspecialty area, the easier it is to seclude oneself in the realm of professional information unapproachable by others, and thus organize the given educational unit into a scientific monopoly. And the teaching body which is far from homogeneous ideologically and with respect to scientific level is relatively firm in one thing, the maintenance of their privileges. But under the present conditions the change is not in the interest of a significant portion of the students either, since on the manpower market only the existence of their diploma matters and not its quality or the content of abilities concealed behind it. Thus, there is also a certain agreement of interests between the students and teachers, which helps the enduring survival of the existing formats. Therefore, I consider building up a new kind of public forum at the university to be the basic element for the changes. At the same time, I consider this to be the decisively definitive second condition of action, the lack of which may precipitate in the already mentioned phenomena.

[Question] Can such a university policy be established under the present circumstances which systematically uncovers the irregularities and after thorough analysis of the situation tries to make changes? Here is right away the relationship between the KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] and the students.

[Answer] Naturally, it is theoretically possible to imagine a university policy centered on reality. But practical life is different. For example, the KISZ is not paying enough attention to what movements are taking place within the walls of the given institution, which ideas are spreading, what needs are generated from day to day. It does not analyze the background of how the spontaneous forms of activity have developed, and thus in general it is then unable to send them into battle in the interest of achieving sensible goals. The KISZ has lost respect especially in the department of philosophy, its membership has declined to under 50 percent. But it is also true that the student body itself is also extremely varied, and this makes it practically impossible for this "base" to offer homogeneous information and even approximately similar interests to the KISZ--for representation.

[Question] How do the so-called ideological subjects influence the thinking of the students?

[Answer] What I said about studying in general is valid for them, too. Let me quote from a committee's position in connection with this: "The ideological subjects...do not take into consideration the experiences of the students (or in some cases the lack of them), do not want to teach the students to uncover reality with scientific tools, but only to superficially acquire a system of concepts. It is not the goal of these subjects to make the students aware of their own situation, to provide a multicolored but credible picture of the world." And with this we have arrived at the circle of socially useful abilities which can be independently acquired. In my opinion this is one of the most critical points of today's system of training intellectuals.

[Question] So it can be concluded that the students are not stimulated to be independent, and very many of them are really only acquiring a system of concepts after a fashion, instead of real knowledge. Could it not be that society has no need for scholars? That even in the training there already is inherent a social brake?

[Answer] This question leads us over to the third factor which determines action. So far I said: the political and public life activity of university youth is expected to depend on whether on the one hand they will become partners in the learning process, and on the other hand whether a real public forum develops at the university. The third condition can be defined in the form of questions as follows: has society registered concrete needs with respect to the quality of intellectuals the university produces? Does the Hungarian society require active, creative, critical human heads who can make decisions independently? For example, does the existing school system require teachers who can adapt didactic formats and pedagogical processes that are different from the usual, in accordance with the

characteristics of their institutions? As long as no such "list of needs" exists, we cannot very well expect those who set out on their path with a diploma to carry with them other abilities either, beyond having obtained the narrow information of their profession.

[Question] I think you want to say with this that they should not be barbarians of their trade even at the beginning of beginnings.

[Answer] The narrow professional preparation barely makes it possible for the beginning intellectuals to have suitable experience, let us say, in the area of organizing the community. Obviously this is not something they have to preach. Someone is suitable for organizing the community and willing to undertake the job only if during the university years he is continuously in decisionmaking situations, that is, if he has appropriate experience. If he has only failures, it is a very pessimistic sign at the beginning of the career.

[Question] I think everybody is waiting for the changes but to most university students it is not clear what his place, his personal task is in this process.

[Answer] Instead of embarking on predictions about the changes, I will list the conditions which in my opinion need to be fulfilled in order to be able to think about meritorious reform. The biggest result of recently held debates--for example, at the youth parliament in Godollo, in the FELSOOKTATSAI SZEMLE [HIGHER EDUCATION REVIEW], or in HETI VILAGGAZDASAG [WORLD ECONOMICS WEEKLY]--was that they made people aware of the need for change. Naturally, this does not mean that the reform character was definitely emphasized. I consider it a basic condition that precisely elaborated alternatives be placed before the public so that a choice could be made among the possibilities. I have not really noticed this in the debates. But it is even more important from the scientific viewpoint: rich material from experience should be available to us about the directions of changing the institutional system. This requires model experiments in which over long periods of time we try to gather experience under conditions which differ from the traditional formats. I do not think we can consider a serious reform without such preliminaries. It is necessary to try out completely new learning organization formats, differently integrated teaching materials, and research organization units which differ from the present ones. In addition, there is also a political condition for the reform. The more a stalemate situation develops in the debate between the top level authority and the university, the more important it is for the students to accurately and with determination express their opinions. Only the determined concept of the central political will and the strength of the opinion of the "base" can make the rigidified institutional system move.

[Question] The economy's viewpoint can also be important.

[Answer] I am convinced that the country can overcome its economic difficulties only if it commits itself to a long-term investment in education. This also means that if the human factor does not become better appreciated socially, then the changes have no real driving force.

TV, SCHOOL OUTSTRIP FAMILY IN SOCIALIZATION OF YOUNG

Budapest JEL-KEP in Hungarian No 2, 1984 pp 26-31

[Article by Ildiko Szabo and Gyorgy Csepeli: "The School of Political Sentiment; On Political World-View Formation among 10-14-Year Olds"; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] Do you like or dislike the national anthem (money, the police, the party secretary, the king)? The authors asked 10-14-year old children for their opinions of 26 words in a study of the particularities of their political culture. The method, which had been employed successfully abroad, revealed television to be the most significant factor in the political socialization of the children.

Is it legitimate for a sociological study to find out whether children prefer trade unions to socialism, or the national flag to revolution? And is there any significance to whether they answer one way or the other? The first to prove that such a seemingly sacrilegious question could be answered in the affirmative was Annick Percheron of France in the late 1960s.¹ This scholar devised the amusing testing method which consists of test administrators reading a variety of political concepts and words to the participating children, and the children responding by saying whether they like or dislike what each word means.

This method has been used in several Western European countries. The secret of its success lies in the possibility of investigating relations between children and their political world, while simultaneously observing a general fact of mental development. It is that in this period, children become oriented among political phenomena primarily on emotional grounds, as they do to the concrete conditions of the given society expressed by the appropriate words on the list.

We also were able to benefit from the opportunities provided by this method when we were commissioned by the Center for Mass Communications Research to conduct a study of the particular characteristics of the political culture of five hundred 10-14-year old children in Budapest.² We selected 26 words from various areas of political reality which we felt confident the children had encountered frequently. Naturally, we did not believe that their familiarity with the concepts would include the ability to provide definitions. But we were of the opinion that they had been able to develop a sense of the concepts'

meanings from the contexts of phrasing and associations in which they frequently occurred in mass media, school or other situations, thereby making it possible for them to most easily express their image of the concept concepts through a positive or negative value judgment.

With the help of this method we tried to gain a better understanding of one of the most basic questions about political socialization facing every society; to find out what the role of the most phenomena in the political world. (This has significance from the point of view of subsequent political behavior.) To help us evaluate the responses of the children with regard to socialization as well, we also asked them where they encountered each of the concepts most often: on TV, at school, at home, or among a peer group of friends. This was done because we felt justified in assuming that the source of information also influences the positive or negative value judgment. The list of words also appeared in a questionnaire which was given to parents to fill out on their own before any testing of the children took place. From them we wished to know where they thought their children heard the most good about these words.

Evaluation of the Political Concepts

The children did not find it difficult to evaluate the 26 concepts; there were only seven concepts which between one-fourth and one-third of them could not decide whether they liked or disliked.

What do the children feel closest to and most distant from? Table One shows that the most unanimous sentiments were evoked by Hungarian national symbols: /the national anthem and the red-white-and-green flag,/as well as by /parade, red banner and society's work./ Over four-fifths of the children liked these. There were just as unanimous in their rejection of words connoting confrontation. like /strike/ and /demonstration/.

It appears that this latter phenomenon is a general characteristic of the political world-view of 10-14-year olds. As in Percheron's French study of 1969, the children liked confrontation-connoting words the least. Regardless of what kind of "idealistic content" is expressed by these words, they are the most remote from the childrens' search for identity and from their desire for security.

This is illustrated by the fact that the word /revolution/, which is known exclusively in a positive context, ranked only 18th on the list. Presumably /army/ is also unpopular among children because the concept gives rise to confrontational images in us.

It is thought-provoking then that for children /politics/ itself primarily means an anxiety-producing world full of confrontations. When we asked them to tell us words which were triggered by the word politics, 50-100 percent

of the words mentioned by 39 percent of them referred to threatening things, negative phenomena and confrontations (most frequently they thought of war; a word which appeared in the responses of over one-third of the children).

They mentioned the kinds of political phenomena about which they could hardly gain any knowledge from their immediate environments or through personal experience, and with which they could only have contact through the mass media, primarily television. (According to the chart however, the majority does not like politics itself, which is understandable on the basis of the given associations.) It is worth mentioning here that the negative feelings expressed for army, demonstration and strike are identical from the point of view that they are not affected by the ages of the children or by the occupations of their parents. The extreme positive and extreme negative sentiments are formed at the earliest age and remain the most stable.

A third group of words consists of those which many avoided evaluating. It is worth noting that the political phenomena which came closest to the world of everyday experiences for the children (and their parents) fell into this category. Many were unable to say what their feelings were for /political institution/ (parliament, trade union) and for /individuals in positions of power/ (president of the city council, party secretary, politician, cabinet minister). A high percentage of the uncommitted answers can probably be explained by conflicting feelings and values about the concepts. (Many avoided taking a position on their feelings about /God/ as well. This presumably is not independent of the fact that the children do not really feel a positive or negative direction about religion from the sources of information around them.)

It can be generally observed that more abstract ideological concepts (/socialism, the party/--another question revealed that the children unanimously understand this to mean "the communist party," and /working class/) are much farther up the "liked" list than more concrete political concepts. The older they are the more likely the children are to say that they like socialism, the party, and the working class--particularly if one or both parents have professional occupations. The older ones therefore, have much more strongly developed feelings for the immediate ideological contents of the categories than do the younger ones; and it is reflected in their answers. (It is however interesting to note that the children of manual laborers like socialism and the party the least, in fact 10-12-year old children of workers don't even like the working class. The 10-12-year old children of professional parents provided positive responses at the same rate as the 13-14-year old children of laborers.)

This same tendency was valid for only a single concept in the case of words connoting the concrete exercising of power: only those children with one or both parents in professional occupations provided a higher percentage of positive responses to party secretary. With regard to /the police/ however, the rate of positive responses declines unanimously with increasing physical age, regardless of parental occupation. (Among the children of laborers even

the percentage of those who liked the party secretary and the president of the council declined with increasing physical age.) As a whole, concepts related to practical politics evoked more negative sentiment from the children than did ideological concepts, which are always communicated by socializing institutions as having positive traits.

In the majority of cases, attitudes toward political concepts are more strongly determined by an even more general factor than the occupational positions of parents, and that is physical age.³ This is not at all surprising in the light of our other finds: that political subjects are pushed into the background in intra-familial communication. One-third of the children never discuss political subjects with their parents, and half of them do it only rarely. And so the influence of value transmitting institutions organized on the societal level is felt more strongly in the political socialization process as the children grow older. This is further reinforced by data we collected on the childrens' sources of information about the political concepts they evaluated.

Sources of Political Ideas

In her 1971 study of political socialization among large groups of kindergarten children, Edit S. Molnar concluded among other things that "while the family is the primary source of information for children about all areas pertaining to everyday experience, television is dominant in all those areas of meaning that deal with greater or lesser amounts of political content...And since the family does not directly "endorse" or discuss these subject areas with the children, or provide behavioral examples to help the material reach the children, in a certain sense, the political material broadcast on television reaches children without any mediation on the part of the family. The level of acquired knowledge is therefore lower than in the case of other content areas." (But, she adds elsewhere, that it is just as well organized as the knowledge of everyday matters which is conveyed by the family.)⁴

Eleven years later (and working with somewhat older children) we also found that television has a decisive role in the political socialization of children. For 17 of the 26 concepts, more than half of the children indicated that they had heard most about it on /TV/. /The family/ was mentioned as the primary source for only two concepts, and for seven of the concepts, more than half of the children indicated /school/ as the primary source. Not once did the percentage of those mentioning /peer group/ as a primary source reach 50 percent. On the average, 62 percent indicated that television was the primary source, 26 percent chose school, 6 percent the family, and 3 percent the peer group of friends.

Apparently there are only two concepts that are not foreign to intimate communication: /money/ and /God./ The majority uniformly assigned the most political ideas to the domain of television, while relegating national and international symbols like society's work or the king to school, considering them the stuff of school celebrations.

In spite of all this, the socializing potential of school with regard to ideas which also appear in course work (capitalism, socialism, working class, party, revolution, and king) is not hopeless: older children mentioned school as the primary source of information about these at a higher rate than did younger ones. It is noteworthy that while the children of professional workers made fewer references to television with regard to concepts conveying national identity (the national flag, the Hungarian national anthem) as they grew older, the children of laborers mentioned television at a higher rate even at higher ages. With increasing physical age the percentage of those mentioning the family went up in two cases: for money and for God. (The latter was the concept most often mentioned as one that could not be heard of anywhere; and the older the children the more often they said it.)

The sources which transmit political material are also the ones which provide the decisive value judgments of the material for the children. The majority of parents claimed that they had communicated the most /good/ to their children about the same concepts which the majority of children claimed to hear about /most often/ from their parents. The picture of a television-centered political orientation structure emerges both from the "qualitative" and from the "quantitative" cultivation of the ideas. It appears that television has replaced school and the family in assuming responsibility for both familiarizing and communicating the values of these concepts. The role of school is thus restricted to making the symbols of national and international loyalty, and of society's work accepted through the rituals of school celebrations. The role of the family and of peer groups in the processing, comprehension and assimilation of these ideas in the political socialization of children is reduced to a negligible level. (There were however differences in the naming of television as the primary value communicator which were contingent on the highest level of education attained by the responding parents--a higher percentage of those who were better educated relied on television to a lesser extent and on school to a greater extent. This however also means that the children of the least educated are most likely to be deprived of the opportunity to be politicized through active interpersonal contact.)

Consequently, one can legitimately ask: what role do the family and school play in the political socialization of children? Of course, political socialization does not consist merely of becoming familiar with political phenomena and then appropriating their network of value systems. In political socialization, the child learns a general relationship to politics and basic political behavior patterns, becoming familiar with different types and finally developing his own. Another consequence of all this is that children learn the game rules of social relations, the nature of politics, the stated and unstated modes for desirable conduct in relations between a citizen and politics, within the school system--which despite its isolation does represent society--even when the schools make no overt mention of these things. By virtue of its own internal conditions and practices school has the capacity to transmit the fundamentals of society to children; conveying society's more or less democratic functioning, and its expectations toward hierarchical or emancipated forms of

behavior. It can exemplify for children the complete separation of ideals from practice (or even their contradiction of each other), but it can also set an example of how they can be combined--becoming convictions with practice. Going back to ideas, we can affirm that by being flexible and open school can inspire children with the desire to appropriate and use political knowledge, but by being rigid and closed, it can even wither existing desires. There is no doubt that from this point of view the Hungarian school system is far from functioning in a satisfactory manner.

As far as the family is concerned, it socializes towards something whether it wants to or not, even when avoiding the political world and removing politics from the parent-child relationship, teaching that politics is outside the mundane domain of ordinary citizens, and that the affairs within "our" purview are governed by different rules and values than "their" politics. The family is therefore re-enforcing a characteristic underdog consciousness: while believing that it is protecting the child from politics, it leaves him vulnerable and unprepared for precisely those conflicts between the individual and political conditions which may already take place in childhood. And because the parents want only to keep their children away from politics, but not from television, they allow its socializing effects to be realized uncurtailed and unsupervised. There is no doubt that the disruption and dysfunctions of the political socialization process have consequences which have a decisive influence on adult social behavior.

FOOTNOTES

1. Annick Percheron, "L'univers politique des enfants" [The Political World of Children] Foundation National des Sciences politiques, [National Foundation for Political Science], Armand Colin, Paris, 1974.
2. For results of the study see, Ildiko Szabo and Gyorgy Csepeli, "Nemzet es politika a 10-14 éves gyermekek tudataban" [The Nation and Politics in the Knowledge of 10-14-Year Old Children], Tomegkommunikacios Kutatokozpont [The Center for Mass Communications Research], 1984.
3. The dominant role of physical age is also reinforced by variations based on two points of view.
4. Edit S. Molnar, "A politikai szocializacio nehany sajátosságának jelentkezese iskolaskorba lepo gyermekekenl---egy vizsgalat modszerani lehetosegei" [The Appearance of Some Characteristic of Political Socialization Among Kindergarten Age Children---a Study in an Observation Methodology], Tomegkommunikacios Kutatokozpont [Studies of the Center for Mass Communications Research], 1979/9.

ABSTRACT: Do you like the National Anthem (the money, the police, the party secretary, the king)--or not? The authors asked the opinion of 10-14-year old children when studying the peculiarities of political culture by 26 expressions. According to the findings of the method--also successful abroad--the most important role is carried by television.

Table I.

Value Judgment of Political Concepts

(In percentages)

<u>Concepts</u>	<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>Can't Decide</u>
1. Hungarian National Anthem	99	--	--
2. Red-White-and-Green Flag	98	--	2
3. Parade (Rally)	88	6	6
4. Red Flag	81	7	11
5. Society's Work	81	7	12
6. Pioneer (scout) necktie	76	14	10
7. Socialism	75	12	13
8. Money	70	15	15
9. Party	66	15	19
10. Working Class	65	15	20
11. Parliament	60	15	25
12. Cabinet Minister	54	22	24
13. Police	50	34	16
14. Official Holiday Speech	45	40	15
15. Trade Union	45	21	34
16. God	42	29	29
17. Party Secretary	40	30	30
18. Revolution	38	47	14
19. Politician	28	44	28
20. President of the Council	28	40	32
21. Army	26	61	13
22. Politics	23	58	19
23. King	21	63	16
24. Capitalism	11	68	22
25. Demonstration	7	89	5
26. Strike	4	91	6

Table II.

Sources of Information about Political Ideas

(In percentages)

<u>Concepts</u>	<u>Television</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Friends</u>	<u>Didn't Hear</u> <u>About It Anywhere</u>
Cabinet Minister	96	2	1	1	--
Demonstration	95	2	--	1	2
Parliament	94	3	1	--	2
Strike	93	5	1	1	--
Politician	93	2	3	1	1
Politics	93	3	2	1	1
Party Secretary	86	6	6	1	1
President of the Council	86	6	4	--	4
Trade Union	81	7	9	1	2
Party	81	11	6	1	1
Army	74	7	11	7	1
Socialism	72	23	3	--	2
Police	72	11	6	10	1
Capitalism	69	21	2	3	5
Working Class	67	25	4	1	3
Parade (Rally)	60	25	8	7	--
Revolution	59	29	2	2	7
Pioneer (scout) necktie	1	93	1	5	--
Society's Work	12	75	6	7	--
Hungarian National Anthem	24	68	6	1	1
Hungarian Flag	28	65	4	2	1
Official Holiday Speech	35	62	--	2	1
Red Flag	41	55	2	1	1
King	35	53	1	6	5
Money	39	4	47	10	--
God	14	11	29	19	27

12233

CSO: 2500/551

INTERNAL MINISTRY OFFICIAL EVALUATES EFFECTIVENESS OF NEW LAW

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 190, 9 Aug 84 p 5

[PAP report: "Legality and Effectiveness: Comments by Jerzy Karpacz, director of the Organizational-Legal Bureau at the Ministry of Internal Affairs" under the rubric "Implementation of the Decree on the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] (C) In a few days a year will have elapsed since the Parliament had voted the decree on the office of the minister of internal affairs. The nature, significance and implementation of this decree are discussed--in his comments to PAP [Polish Press Agency]--by Maj Jerzy Karpacz, director of the Organizational-Legal Bureau at the MSW [Ministry of Foreign Affairs].

The decree, along with some 15 sets of implementing regulations, represents a comprehensive settlement of the legal safeguards for the security of the state and law and order. Here it is worth emphasizing that the reasons for drafting this decree stemmed from the awareness that some of the previous and largely uncoordinated legislation defining the legal status and scope of competences of the minister of internal affairs as well as of the agencies and services subordinate to him had been drafted as far back as nearly 30 years ago. What is more, it included regulations issued at lower levels.

Now a single decree representing the supreme law of the land has integrated the principal rights and duties of the minister of internal affairs and the bodies subordinate to him, as well as the structure of these bodies, the rights of the SB [Security Service] and MO [Citizens' Militia] functionaries and the resources placed at the minister's disposal for the purpose of task implementation. This integration was primarily justified by the fact that a considerable part of the tasks is implemented with respect to relations between the office and the citizens, and this sphere of action is so important that it has to be regulated by law at the highest level.

The decree delegates to both the Council of Ministers and the minister of internal affairs the right to issue 14 different sets of specific implementing regulations that elaborate and define more precisely the principal provisions

of the decree. An overwhelming majority of these sets of regulations has already been issued and published in DZIENNIK USTAW and MONITOR POLSKI. The remaining two sets of regulations are in the final legislation-drafting stage.

The principal purposes of these legal implementing regulations concerning the ministry are as follows:

--The formation and refinement of the legal foundations for and forms of the activities of the ministry and its services, elements and functionaries--pursuant to the principles of legal and socially accepted activity mandatory in the state.

--Continual streamlining of the practical effectiveness of the ministry's activities.

As for the decree itself, it defines the tasks belonging in the scope of competences of the minister of foreign affairs which are implemented by the Security Service and Citizens' Militia as well as by the military units and fire brigades subordinate to the ministry. Thus, the fundamental tasks--the assurance of security of the state and the protection of law and order--are at the same time the fundamental tasks of the Security Service and Citizens' Militia. Here it should be stressed that at the same time the decree settles the legal status of the Security Service--while simultaneously defining its competences.

Prior to the promulgation of this decree, legal regulations of this kind had been absent. Although the functionaries of the Security Service account for a relatively low proportion of the ministry's regular personnel, empowering them with rights in the public-legal sphere is of major importance, especially if the nature and importance of the tasks they implement is considered. For the Security Service is a formation designed primarily to protect the security of the state.

The decree has at the same time changed the appellations of the minister's local agencies so as to reflect the actual scope of their competences, which comprises both matters of state security and those of law and order.

Lastly noteworthy are the provisions of the decree defining the competences of SB and MO functionaries with respect to the employment of direct means of duress, and at the same time--for the first time, besides--defining the nature of and principles for their employment (they include, among other things, physical and technical means of disarming and convoying individuals and halting vehicles, the Militia's rubber truncheons, chemical and water-based means of disarming, police dogs, firearms, etc.). They also define more precisely the principles for and instances of the use of weapons by the functionaries. A detailed elaboration of these problems is contained in the two ordinances of the minister of internal affairs issued in January of this year.

There is not any doubt that this is an immeasurably important issue, especially from the social point of view. For the source of information to

citizens as regards the nature of these means and the occasions and principles for their employment should be--and precisely is--a decree promulgated a year ago in DZIENNIK USTAW rather than some hardly credible and more or less sensation-seeking reports spread by various individuals or slanderous and most often mendacious propaganda spread by hostile Polish-language Western radio stations.

Thus, the question of the employment of means of duress by SB and MO functionaries is not something shameful and concealed in internal regulations. The promulgation of a decree on this question has enriched--and there exist numerous proofs that this has happened within the year that elapsed since then--public awareness by the knowledge that safeguards for the legality of action of the organs of enforcement in using these means have been created. It has also strengthened--as I can state on the basis of my daily official intraministerial contacts--the conviction of the functionaries in the legality of the activities they undertake.

The decree and the implementing regulations issued on its basis, thus represent laws that are necessary and justified by both the needs of the socialist state and the expectations of the society. For the state must maintain operative and infallible organs of security and public safety, while the society must have the right to undisturbed work and development in the feeling of security and tranquility. It is worth noting that, barely a year after they were promulgated, these regulations are proving their worth in our daily activities. We have many positive experiences in this respect.

In particular, both the quality of performance of the functionaries and the effectiveness of action of the ministry have improved, and the observed positive tendencies in this respect are exemplified by, among other things, the ongoing process of sociopolitical stabilization. This fact has to a large extent made possible the acceptance of the far-reaching amnesty decree voted some 15 days ago by the Parliament.

Appropriate agencies of the ministry were at the same time placed under the obligation of regularly monitoring the validity of the solutions adopted and undertaking suitable organizational-legal initiatives in this respect. This is because, proceeding from the assumption that the legality and effectiveness of the activities of the ministry's services, and of the agencies subordinate to the minister of internal affairs, are of fundamental importance, we are vigilantly keeping track of, in particular, the quality of the legal regulations being drafted as well as of structural solutions.

Thus, on evaluating from by now some vantage point of time the state of the legal regulations within the ministry and the everyday service practice developing on their basis, the attitude toward them can and should be positive. For they constitute a relatively coherent legal-organizational system.

1386
CSO: 2600/1174

POLITICAL SCIENTIST DISCUSSES PROSPECTS, FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 31, 4 Aug 84 p 6

[Article by Dr Stanislaw Gebethner, associate professor at the Institute of Political Sciences, Warsaw University: "Two Visions"]

[Text] What are the assets of the last 40 years and what are the liabilities which burden its record? In this respect, what are the possible, the desirable (or the undesirable) development variants, given the realities of Europe and the world in flux?

Those were the questions we have posed to some prominent scholars, politicians, and journalists. In earlier issues we have published answers by professors Wladyslaw Markiewicz, Zdzislaw Grochowski, and Marian Stepien.

It is not easy to answer the questions posed by the editors, because there is always a danger that predictions derived from excessive fancy would replace genuine scholarly prognostication. On the other hand a different danger looms: formulating a development prognosis for such a long term--as a prospect for the next 40 years, i.e., until 2024--would, above all, bear the stamp of subjective projection of the recent past or even of the present. Wishful thinking shaped by the desire to eliminate all the shortcomings and blemishes of the present might paralyze imagination. One has to realize that this kind of prediction--even apparently daring in formulating visions of the coming years--is but a pretext for expressing one's own approach to the present.

To begin with, let us clearly state that the question concerning the visionary image of the next 40 years relates to the definition of the probable image of Poland on the 80th anniversary of the July Manifesto. In other words, it relates to an era when--unless some fatal calamity afflicts the whole world, putting an end to the entire civilization--our country will be populated and ruled by a generation of Poles totally different from the one that has shaped the last 40-year period. And that is when another hidden trap lies in wait for all the participants of this poll. Assuming the most realistic premises and using scholarly methods of extrapolation of earlier development trends, we are capable of predicting, with considerable degree of probability, the changes in economy and technology, i.e., in the

material basis of our social and political life. However, we are unable to predict reasonably what the "Poles 2024" would look like. It is most difficult even to define who are the "Poles 1984"; how could we then prognosticate about the "Poles 1994", or the "Poles 1999"? One has to be aware that what the generation of Poles in the 2020's would look like depends on our present doings.

I appreciate fully the significance of all the material premises which condition the socioeconomic development, inclusive of "the iron laws of sociology" and "the merciless rules of economic life." But the shape of the next 40-year period will be determined, above all, by people. That is probably a cliché, but it makes sense to invoke it here. Looking at the future of our country and of our nation from this vantage point, I perceive two images, two entirely contradictory scenarios of coming events. Either those are going to be the years of shaping the new Pole, a liberated, educated and culturally developed man, conscious of his social and political position, master of machines and structures capable of subordinating them in a creative way without fear of innovation; or else, those are going to be the years of wretched existence of man enslaved by machines and structures, pondering over the past, encompassed in the old behavior patterns, incapable of confronting the challenges of the rapidly changing environment. In other words, it is a vision of either humanistic development or of managerial-technocratic development. To implement the first vision, it will be necessary to elicit all the humanistic visions inherent in socialism--the mature socialism, not the one verbally declared but the genuine one.

What I fear most--aware of the experience of rises and falls of the past 40-year era--is that we are going to drift between the two visions of development I have just "programmed."

The editors expect an answer to their questions concerning the assets and the liabilities which weigh upon the record of our recent 40-year era. An exhaustive answer would require writing an honest and balanced book on the history of People's Poland. The fact that we still lack such a book and such balanced opinions is just the superficial expression of our lighthearted, so to speak, approach to our modern history and of our failure to learn the lessons derived from our past. To a major degree, that is exactly what weighs most on our record. I am not concerned with the extent and the depth of the crisis we have been going through in the early 1980's. In the future it might even bring about its blessings. I am writing this, fully aware of the sufferings and the tragedy many people have experienced in recent years. Far be it from me to make light of individual fates. Such fates make up the image of our collective consciousness. My fears stem from my sad reflection that up to now in our collective doings we have been unable to draw proper conclusions from the recent tensions and crises, and after each breakdown we have turned back to the old and beaten tracks of thinking and acting. In my opinion, the danger of "relapse" is a major threat in the balance sheet of our opening toward the new 40-year era.

On the other hand, I believe that the balance sheet which closes the outgoing 40-year era (the last 4 years not excluded, or even put at the top of the list)

is an asset. In the past stormy years, major, and, in my opinion, irreversible, changes have been wrought in the social consciousness. Unless we waste it, it might become a valuable asset.

Significant achievements and accomplishments have been brought about during the last four decades. The most important I consider the fact that during this period (which comprises the coming of age and maturity of an entire new generation of Poles) our community has been given the opportunity to devolve within such a framework of independent state entity, which had provided conditions for maintaining and strengthening our national identity. All this has taken place in a most complex environment, in a world which never in the past had been as deeply divided on various levels (by no means in the political sense only), in an international environment full of dangers potentially carrying the specter of catastrophe (not nuclear war alone, but of ecological calamity). The maintenance of national sovereignty, cut to 20th century standards, is a not mere trifle either today or tomorrow. That is our major asset. In the coming decades it should be used sensibly--sensibly in the sense of with daring and imagination, but within the limits of caution imposed by the collective instinct of national self-preservation.

I share the concern of all those who more and more frequently alert us to the unquestionable fact of our lagging behind the world leaders, who point to the growing technological gap between Poland and other nations of comparable, or even lesser, economic and cultural capabilities. It is a serious issue, perhaps the most important one in all the complex image of Poland in the first half of the 1980's. The problem per se is so intricate that no magic wand, such as an amnesty and reconciliation or a major injection of foreign credits, will do. Unless we radically and consistently restore order in our own household in such a way as to set in motion machinery open to innovation and stimulating innovative actions, no one from outside is going to offer us assistance or instigate it. It is here that I perceive the most serious threat at the threshold of the new 40-year era.

I would like to stress the point once more: no correction of some economic instruments of the economic reform or another modification of some legislative acts will suffice here. The crux of the matter are people, their conservative habits and old fashioned behavior patterns, accompanied by simultaneous proclivity for collective euphoria and short-lived zeal to verbally reform everything, here and now. The question here is not of apathy or passivity, or even of a turn toward privacy, which for many appears as some kind of temporary byproduct of martial law. The problem goes much deeper. It is rooted in the lack of imagination and derives from the most dangerous conservative populism, from tendency to level down, accompanied by shortsighted egotism and parochialism. Whether we will be able to augment the assets inherited from the past 40 years or whether we are doomed to squander them for ever depends on whether we will be able to overcome effectively those barriers and obstacles, and how quickly we will manage it, inciting the collective social energy and pushing it in a proper direction.

To augment those assets, however, we have to undertake a major task of political education, conceived not as a new program of civic education in

schools or new guidelines for mass propaganda. It has to be a consistent reorientation toward genuine self-management in the functioning of the entire system of public institutions, with all their democratic attributes. Several times, in various forms and in various places, I have already expressed my opinion on the restructuring of our systemic institutions. I have presented a certain image of their evolution to fit--as I am convinced--the challenges of the modern era. I am not going to repeat it here, not just because the limits set for answers to this poll will not allow it. Many people have recently pronounced many sage truths and have given much sensible advice on "improving the republic." In the very recent past, at least five major institutions (including the invitation to take part in this poll) have asked me to give an opinion or provide expertise on what is to be done to improve things, or to move ahead from dead center. As a result, I have succumbed once more to a major anxiety that we might again talk it all away among ourselves, discuss everything from beginning to end. And that is perhaps the greatest threat which looms at the threshold of the new 40-year era; all in all, this does not appear to me to be too rosy.

12485

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THREE GENERATIONS OF WORKERS COMPARED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 33, 10 Aug 84 pp 3,4

[Article by Przemyslaw Wojcik: "Workers Are in the Biggest Hurry"]

[Text] Generational differences are not interchangeable with class-stratum differences, nor do they serve to obliterate these differences. They are useful for highlighting changes that occur within classes. Three generations may be identified among the Polish workers that built People's Poland: the first gained its professional and life experience before the war; the second includes those that were young during the war and the occupation; the third, born in People's Poland, got its productive start during the 1960's and 1970's.

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Based on Stanislaw Rychlinski's studies: "Warstwy społeczne" [Social Strata], "Warstwy pracujące" [Working Strata] and "Zależność procesów demokratyzacji kultury od dynamiki społecznej" [The Dependence of Cultural Democratization Processes on Social Dynamics] (S. Rychlinski, "Wybor Pism" [Selected Works] PWN [Polish Scientific Publishers], 1976), I distinguish the following major factions of the prewar working class: the cadre working class, the vocationally active poor workers, the unemployed combined with the young farm hand proletariat, the lumpenproletariat and the workers' aristocracy. The cadre working class was numerically coextensive in scope with the influence of the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and the KPP [Communist Party of Poland], as well as the class vocational movement. This was the most creative and aware part of the working class. There was no poverty problem in this community; a sense of one's own dignity and of the dignity of one's work, as well as of worker solidarity prevailed.

Just below this group on the ladder of affluence stood the vocationally active poor workers that earned from 30 to 200 zlotys per month, or the majority of the prewar proletariat. These people barely could make ends meet. Their most important problem was biological survival. For example, when, during the period of economic revitalization in Poland during the end of the 1920's, the cadre working class began the struggle for a higher level of societal restoration, the poor workers expressed the entirely opposite view. When miners, metallurgists and metalworkers, despite the promised wage increase, refused to accept the lengthening of the 8-hour workday, did not want to work 8-hour Saturdays and refused to work on work-free Sundays, the proletariat

from the old production subsectors (the textile, food and timber industries) approved the lengthening of the workday to 10-12 hours per day.

The memoirs of prewar labor inspectors offer many examples in which workers initially registered complaints with them regarding the violation of the 8-hour day law, only to retract their statements when the hearing was initiated or even to make false statements in court under oath. The poverty of people was so great that for a few zlotys' wage increase, they tolerated exploitation and lawlessness.

A more general truth lay in the preceding facts and phenomena. It may be said that in nearly all capitalist countries, of course during different periods and with different intensity, the class struggle of the proletariat invariably passed through similar stages of development. It began with the struggle to improve the material situation and then moved on to work safety and hygiene, or as Marx would say, living conditions during work time, to the legal protection of workers, to the right of coalition, or the possibility of possessing one's own trade and political organizations and, finally, to the proper interpersonal relations in the enterprise. After achieving a certain optimum living standard and after gaining the self-assurance provided by being well-qualified, the worker wishes to live like a human being and is prepared to fight for this. It may be said that each of these successive demands of the proletariat marked an attempt to transform the vocal instrument of capital generation into the man of labor and the citizen.

At the two opposite poles of this cadre and pauperized proletariat stood the privileged enclave, on the one hand, and the so-called social nadir at the other. The nadir was represented by the unemployed, the farm hand proletariat (here I do not include manorial farm workers, but farm hands of the peasant bourgeoisie and domestic help) and the lumpenproletariat.

In 1939, the eminent prewar sociologist Stanislaw Rychlinski sketched out this portrait of the worker aristocracy: "Within the ranks of the working-class stratum, a relatively small worker aristocracy is beginning to be created, composed primarily of the employees of state and self-governing enterprises and public service institutions. This faction almost did not suffer at all at the hands of the recent crisis that thrust the broad masses of workers into poverty. This small elite (in this case not a leadership elite but possessing good fortune in the area of the living standard), makes every attempt to ensure its youth opportunities to advance socially, training its children in secondary schools in which state and self-government employees receive reduced rates and privileges.

"A tremendous part of the working-class intelligentsia is recruited from this sphere (...) The line that divides the common people and the worker aristocracy, that is assuming hereditary characteristics (while not penetrating into the ranks of the intelligentsia), is being marked out more and more clearly. The dynamism of the progress of the workers' stratum as a whole has been broken down" (S. Rychlinski, "The Dependence of Cultural Democratization Processes on Social Dynamics" in "Wybor Pism," PWN, 1976, p 189). Let us supplement this description by noting that the earnings of members of the worker

aristocracy during the years 1938-1939 amounted to 500-800 zlotys per month, or 27 times the wages of the lowest paid workers (30 zlotys per month). Their loyalty to the authorities and lack of loyalty to their fellow comrades at work were compensated by privileges and the possibility of getting out of the class into which they had been born.

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All layers of the proletariat joined the socialist revolution, except for the majority of the worker aristocracy. It lost privileges, status and possibilities, became degraded socially and was pauperized to a considerable degree. It probably was responsible for the first strikes in July and August 1945, for regardless of the slogans that it uttered and the pretexts it gave, attempts to paralyze the economy of a country laid waste by war and occupation can only be understood in terms of political implacability.

The greatest sacrifices upon the altar of the new system (if we may put it this way) were borne by the cadre working class. In the workers' community of 1944-1945, this was the generation of 30-40 year-olds, i.e., those people that acquired their professions and their life and political experience before the war. They also suffered material losses, but they gained socially and politically.

The further turns of fate of this part of the working class were highly significant. A very large percentage of the most politically experienced workers from industrial centers with rich revolutionary traditions went directly after the war to work in the various elements of the state administration. From Zyrardow alone, of 7,000 workers, more than 3,000 entered the party and state apparatus, the militia and the security service.

The need to resettle and to manage regained lands placed this added task on the shoulders of the working class, particularly its cadre faction. Stepped up industrialization adds to the "rarified nature" of this class in a dual sense. Qualified senior workers represented a cadre base for newly built factories, while in the old ones, they changed their social status and were transferred to supervisory posts.

Leszek Grzybowski, in his book "Robotnicy w PZPR" [Workers in the PZPR], illustrates the dramatic fate of those that came to work in the organs of authority in 1949-1950. When the dogmatic-sectarian trend became prevalent in the party, most of them left the party apparatus, that saw the influx of very young people from among the urban and rural poor, people that got their professional start under People's Poland. Most of the members of the cadre working class returned to their shops in worker positions. That part that remained in the plants participated in the 1946 strike against the disproportionate imposition of the burden to rebuild, and in the 1947-1948 strikes against the dispossession of the workers' right to participate in enterprise decisionmaking within the framework of the workers' self-government and the introduction of the Taylor system of piecework under the name of socialist competitive labor. The last piece of piecework of the prewar cadre working class was the Poznan June of 1956. When these people retired, the work

ethic, the sense of pride in one's qualifications and in a duty well done and the sense of worker dignity all disappeared. There was an influx of rural young people into the ranks of the working class, along with their entire baggage of community burdens.

While this was undeniably a positive process and one of the greatest gains of the Polish peasantry in the revolution, like every great historical movement, it had mixed meanings. Rapid social, professional and societal progress was not accompanied by equally rapid class development and development of worker consciousness. Let us make use of an example with a very crucial periphery. Industry was flooded primarily with young farm hands, manorial farm workers and poor beggars. The farm hand, i.e., a person from the very nadir of the social pyramid, often placed outside the pale of the class peasant culture, was a man that, by virtue of his role, did not have the right to any dignity. Humiliation and poverty do not engender dignity or class hate, but rather personal envy and the desire to recoup one's losses. The eminent Polish sociologist Stanislaw Rychlinski pointed this out before the war. The years immediately following the war revealed the extent of this phenomenon. It happened that the farm hand that had advanced earlier before becoming a worker wished to view all those around him as farm hands. Paupers that cast off their poverty but still had not acquired any personal culture greedily outpaced all the old rascals, wishing to obliterate the traces of their own background with the glitter of excess. Do not primitive technocratism and the unbridled acquisition of new wealth also have the same social sources?

The prewar social fringe, the lumpenproletariat, caused even greater harm to society in the history of the PRL, especially during the Stalinist so-called period of errors and perversions. Obviously, it is fortunate that not everyone from the so-called nadir of society succeeded in moving out of his own element and getting rich; the vast majority remained good, skilled workmen and honest people.

This was neither an invented nor a marginal phenomenon, since the vast majority of directors that were removed by workers in wheelbarrows in 1956 were people that, a few years earlier, during the romantic or heroic period of revolution, had been chosen by these same workforces and had been made their directors. An analysis of cadre changes in the party apparatus from 1949-1955 shows that the old, prewar workers' cadres had "crumbled away" and had been replaced by young people with less than a year's experience in the enterprise. Was this merely a set of accidents? From the viewpoint of the role of the working class in the entire picture of the country's life, there had occurred a sort of regression from its state as a "class for itself" to the state of a "class within itself"; it apparently could not have been otherwise.

The socialist revolution and industrialization fortuitously resolved several nagging social problems that were the Achilles heel of the Polish prewar economy. Urban unemployment estimated in 1939 at 1 million persons and the surplus of farm workers estimated at 4-5 million persons were eliminated. People were guaranteed work and a modest existence; the policy of full employment was continued. This is unquestionably one of the greatest successes of socialism in Poland.

The cultural-educational revolution that took place eliminated illiteracy and intensely developed education at all levels, particularly vocational education. For millions of people, and particularly for working-class and peasant youth, opportunities were opened up for advancement through the educational system to professions and positions that were shut off to them before the war. The class composition of the Polish intelligentsia changed.

We may add to the list of the real successes of working people in the PRL that are not merely the result of the overall progress in civilization that was made throughout Europe, those specific successes related exclusively to systems-type changes. The majority of people advanced socially and existentially, despite the still existing privations. Before the war, less than 15 percent of workers had housing with all the comforts, while today more than 65 percent have central heating, hot and cold running water and gas, not to mention much less crowded conditions and universal electrification.

Finally, there is the issue of social security in the broad sense, of free education, medical care, the system of universal pension plans and the like. Despite the shortcomings that emanate also from the progressive disparity between needs and aspirations and the state of their implementation, these all are the result, not only of civilization's progress, but--we repeat--they are the results and the successes of the system.

Every great historical process possesses its own dynamics and dialectics of development. In this case, dialectics mean internal conflict, the coexistence of dissonances and the disharmony of development. These processes and traits of development are inevitable. While it seems that it is possible to influence the level and intensity of negative phenomena, it is impossible to eliminate them entirely. The appropriate social and economic policy can only minimize negative processes.

What were the negative aspects of the development of the PRL during the last 40-year period? I think that these may be comprised as the policy of stepping up economic growth through the priority development of group "A" industries. What was truly unavoidable was the development of industry that would guarantee the country's defense against the threat of imperialism. Everything that went beyond the requirements of the development of the defense industry emanated from the mistaken ideological-political choices of the alienated authorities.

The planned (let us be frank) lack of development of group "B" industries and agriculture that was then consolidated by the inefficient system of economic management had a triple effect. It led to a lower general living standard than would have been achieved through another economic policy, it blocked the possibilities of social advancement of the cadre working class through the dispersal of funds, partly for the essentially social employment of many newcomers from rural areas and it increased general tensions and social conflicts.

During the 10-year period from 1960 to 1970, the increase in the average real wage was 20 percent, or 2 percent per annum. Taking into account intersubsector wage shifts, for the vast majority of employees this was a zero increase, even though the total increase actually amounted to 20 percent. Thus, the recorded

economic development did not lead to a development in consumption. Meanwhile, other problems, such as housing, were exacerbated, leading to the impression that the economy was at a standstill, as well as to a sense of bitterness and social dissatisfaction. The attempt to transfer the consequences of incompetent management and a faulty capital spending policy to the shoulders of the people burst open in the events of 1970 and 1976.

The entrusting of planning to technical experts and then, beginning from the mid-1970's, the total breakdown of planning could not but have negative economic and social consequences alike. The lack of developed traditions in the use of mechanisms for articulating stratum and socioprofessional interests and the lack of a system for negotiating these interests, as well as for coordinating them based on the principles of compromise led to a sort of vertical, rather than horizontal polarization of groups of interests. Everyone solidly directed their demands to the top, and the central authorities were placed in the role of Saint Nicholas with his limitless sack of possibilities and abundance.

The mass influx of new people from rural areas into industry, people that were not qualified, that had no developed habits of collective work and that had no level of the proper work attitudes and no private ownership mentality caused problems with work quality and discipline. Labor quality and productivity were demanded by the technocratic technologies that demoralized both supervisors and old workers. Attitudes of license, arrogance and irresponsibility became fixed among supervisory personnel. Among old workers, this treatment led to resentment, causing an attitude of drudgery to work.

When people are deprived of their identity, they lose their sense of responsibility. While there should be no rights without duties, it is naive to think that it is possible in Polish society to enforce duties without rights. One may venture the guess that a young person becomes a productive worker after 3-5 years and becomes a fully mature person after 5-10 years. If this assumption is true, then it has very important consequences both for the system of labor organization and for the PRL political system.

How did the preceding processes and phenomena manifest themselves in the generational structure of the working class? For the first generation of the working class, those that built People's Poland but were trained before the war, it represented social and political advancement by class and through emergence from the class, for the vast majority, moderate existential advancement and opportunities for their children. The second generation of those that built the PRL, the "ZMP [Polish Youth Union] generation," with regard to that part of it that hailed from rural areas, was guaranteed social and societal advancement. For the part that came from the city, there began the process of the stabilization of living conditions or their degradation. During the 1960's, i.e., the so-called minor stabilization, the old class separations and divisions began to recur, but the rise of the new middle class did not take place until the 1970's. The third generation was the generation of expanded ambitions and blocked potential, both in social and existential terms. In 1956, the workers sang revolutionary songs, in 1970 they sang revolutionary and patriotic songs and in 1980 they sang patriotic

and religious songs, although at the same time this last generation developed the slogan "socialism yes, perversions no." The first worker generation in the 1940's defended the workforce self-government, the second in the 1950's articulated the identity of workers and created the workers' councils movement and the third tried to organize the workers' independent, self-governing trade union Solidarity that the political opposition tried to manipulate to other than union ends.

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The 40-year history of the workers' question in the PRL makes clear several important phenomena. First, from the viewpoint of the technical conditions of labor and their impact on health, the strenuousness of work and work safety, Polish workers are the most handicapped of all the strata of Polish society. It may be said that as the coproducers of the civilizational advancement of the entire nation, they are paying all of the costs of this advancement. In addition to the handicaps caused by their place in the social division of labor, many other phenomena, due to their chronic nature, bear all the marks of unintentional social discrimination. This concerns education and a share in culture, the housing standard and the degree to which needs are met in this area, the real impact on the development of moods and interpersonal relations in the labor community. For the vast majority of worker families, overcoming insufficiency is a severe problem. The preceding facts and phenomena lead to the conclusion that workers are the most interested in stepping up economic development and social progress, that they are in the biggest hurry along the road to socialism. The most recent history of Poland also proves that Polish workers several times already have been the major force revising state and party policy to move in the direction of socialism.

Second, contrary to current opinions and appearances, the vast majority of Polish workers are interested in improving work quality, productivity and efficiency. Regardless of the paths by which young people are led to the workers' community, all those that do not become demoralized turn out to be valuable employees; such workers are the decisive majority. The calling of the worker is exhausting, often difficult and even health-destructive labor. When the worker becomes aware of the inevitability of this fact and accepts it internally, two issues become the most important for him: wages and the meaning of his work. He is ready to slave away day after day, under the condition that it means that he can have a decent life. "Let them squeeze out of me as much as they can, but let them pay me decently, and give me the rest of the time to myself." In addition to money, the worker wishes to gain satisfaction from his work. As he grows older, this need becomes more intense and he is able to gain personal satisfaction only through well-executed work. Nothing is more depressing for workers than botched work, poor product quality and the manufacturing of unsalable goods. But the organization of work and production do not belong to workers and do not depend on them.

Third, it is not beside the point to note that it was worker demands that opened the way to advancement and progress for other social groups and strata

that were discriminated against to various degrees. The result often was that other groups gained more than the workers themselves. The Politburo report at the 16th PZPR KC Plenum stated that "the workers are not an egoistic class." Let us go even further: the worker community has the best understanding of human adversity and misfortune; it is most open to the problems of others; it suffers the least from private interest, egoism, lifelessness, duplicity, extremism and radicalism. Worker solidarity in this community is not an empty slogan or platitude. Workers are in favor of national understanding; they are prepared to make the necessary compromises with other strata and to enter into partnerly relations with them, but on the principles of mutuality and not at the expense of their own basic needs and interests. The sense of class separateness and the aim to establish their own identity have attained among workers dimensions that were unprecedented during the first decades of the 40 years of the PRL. These features of worker attitude and consciousness can become a major force stepping up Poland's development. Their creative use, however, depends not only, and not even primarily, upon workers.

8536

CSO: 2600/1187

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION FURNISHED ON SHIP COMMANDERS

Commanders of 'Wodnik,' 'Kondor'

Gdynia PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 4, Apr 84 pp 25-29

[Article by Reserve Commander Janusz Joachimczak]

[Text] More than once, the designation "leading ship" has been linked to the person of Commander Zdzislaw Zmuda. At the beginning of the 1970's, the landing craft numbered "805" attained the leading position among third-class sea vessels. This officer was then the ship's commander. Clearly, he did not become this immediately. After completing studies in the Officers' Faculty of the Heroes of Westerplatte Higher Naval School, to which he came from Legnica, he then had to serve as commander of one of the ship's divisions, then as second-in-command and only at the next level did he find himself in the role of "second only to God." Before he attained this position, however, he spent 5 years of difficult marine service among commando-men. The officer's active participation in performing the tasks confronting him gave him great flexibility, a greater understanding of the charms and caprices of the waters and inurement against the trying actions of the sea in unfavorable conditions. The acquisition of a wealth of experience combined with the theoretical knowledge he gained during his studies largely have been responsible for the high rate of efficiency of Zdzislaw Zmuda's achievements, efficiency that is evident both in his command of the ship and in the sphere of training-educational work. The previously noted victory of the ODS-805 [landing craft 805] crew in the competition of ships for the title of leading ship in the navy confirms this efficiency.

Once again the officer's name has become widely publicized in the navy. The direct cause of this was the attainment by the training ship "Gryf" of the title of leading ship in the navy in 1978. All members of the ship's crew worked together reliably to achieve this success. Among those most responsible for the ship's assumption of the leading position in our navy was its commander. He assumed the responsibility for the proper course and results of the training of those subject to him and for the quality of the performance of the tasks confronting the ship. Likewise on him primarily depended the atmosphere and interpersonal relations that reigned among the crew, its teamwork and the degree of its activism in implementing assigned tasks.

Commander Zdzislaw Zmuda served for several years on landing craft. Then he assumed the command of the "Gryf" and its ambitious crew, triumphing twice in the competition for the title of leading ship. His repeated success in 1981 consisted of gaining first place among the group of special naval ships.

Early in the spring of the following year, Commander Zdzislaw Zmuda left the "Gryf" to assume command of the training unit ship, the ORP [Polish Republic Ship] "Wodnik." Since the time that this ship raised its red-and-white flag and began to serve in the navy, this officer is its third commander. Moreover, as group commander, he also heads other training ships.

Commander Zdzislaw Zmuda possesses well-trained and ambitious crew members. This applies particularly to the representatives of the regular cadre, composed of still young graduates of WSMW [Higher Naval School] and the alumni of the CSSMW [Naval Specialists Training Center] noncommissioned officers' school. When he came on board, he resolved to integrate people more, to arouse their greater activism and enthusiasm and to direct their efforts towards the best possible implementation of program tasks and towards the assumption of the foremost position within the training ships group. The ambitions of the entire crew concurred with this plan. Implementing this plan was feasible, although it required that a number of undertakings be accomplished. Much also depended upon the quality of the execution of the tasks awaiting the crew members. It was not possible to do everything "offhand": consistent, persistent action that required the proper amount of time to execute was needed. This opportunity occurred in 1983, when all tasks were already accomplished and a qualified competitions commission summarized the results of the intership competition. It was then that the ORP "Wodnik" achieved the highest number of points, giving it the title of leading ship of the special ships group. It attained this position by outstripping the competition with regard to the indexes for evaluating program tasks and results in the sphere of outstanding training, as well as in other fields of service. For example, the majority of crew members of the winning ship belonged to the Socialist Service Team [DSS], and of every three crew members, two basic service specialists received recognition for the good quality of their service at sea, winning the "Model Sailor" award. Somewhat more than 80 percent of the crew members of the "Wodnik" attained the class specialist requirement.

Of the professional cadre, all attained the class requirement, primarily first and second class. Ten of its representatives wear the silver or bronze badge of the "Model Commander." Primarily the commanders and heads of particular ship departments and the commanders of specialist groups and squads gained this right. Given the fact that they are primarily party or ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] members, it is not difficult to conclude that they understand properly their duty to lead in their community.

It is also true that the crew spent about one-third of the year at sea, sometimes very far from the place where the ship is docked permanently. This was dictated by the summer practice held for WSMW students, by visits abroad and by other needs. The ship, however, executed its every task successfully. Worthy of special mention, however, is the implementation by artillerists of all the "Wodnik's" firing tasks for a rating of very good or good. The combined

distance traveled by the ship last year was more than 13,000 nautical miles. This required the driving engines of the "Wodnik" to work about 1,200 motor-hours. This year likewise proves to be a busy one for the commander and the entire crew. This emanates particularly from the extensive program of ship's tasks.

Commander Zdzislaw Zmuda is in good spirits and believes in the unerring actions of the people under him. The officer's optimism appears to be justified, since they have proved thus far that they can do a great deal.

One may expect that if he gives a submarine crew member the name of this officer, he immediately will be directed to him. However, this is not the case, for the simple reason that two officers with identical names serve within the group of submarines. Nor is there any hiding the fact that they are brothers. Thus, it is not enough to say that their name is Cwiklak. One must give the right first name, and then it becomes easy to find the person one is looking for.

If one looks closely at the details of the personal records of the Cwiklak brothers, one sees that their fate, tied up with submarines, has taken them far away from Radom, where they spent their childhood and completed secondary vocational school. Initially, they envisaged futures working in the railways, selecting study in the railways technical program. However, their compelling drive to serve at sea first led the elder brother, Marek Cwiklak, to Gdynia. Yielding to the power of sentiment, he began studies at the Officers' Faculty of the Heroes of Westerplatte WSMW. At the time, he still did not know that when he completed his studies, his life would be tied in with service on submarines for many many years. As a newly promoted officer, he began his service on the ORP "Sokol" in the position of commander of a ship department. After 3 years, a higher, more responsible position was entrusted to him, that of second-in-command of the ORP "Kondor."

It was his fate to execute his service duties during a very special period for the crew of this ship. In competition, it gained the title of leading second-class ship in our entire navy and became the source of well-earned pride for the submarine crew. This circumstance was also a source of satisfaction for the new ZDO [ship's second-in-command]. Above all, it made him aware that he had become the representative of the best ship at that time, not only in its class, but on a considerably broader scale. For the young officer, this fact also became an added incentive for him to redouble his efforts, through the exemplary performance of the tasks emanating from his service position. Reality showed that his consistent work towards this end yielded good results. This was confirmed by the "Kondor's" successful implementation of its program training tasks at sea and by the systematic development of the outstanding work of its crew, doubtless including the considerable contribution of the second-in-command.

The fact that submarine crews are often present on sea exercise practice ranges allowed Marek Cwiklak to increase systematically his own qualifications and to enrich the experience so necessary in submarine service. In the fall of 1980,

during a competition for the title of best naval navigator, Marek Cwiklak proved to be an unparalleled expert and practitioner of marine navigation, thereby ensuring for himself precedence for the title of master.

Several months later, he attained another distinction. His superiors named him the commander of the "Kondor." After a time, he acquired the status of first-class specialist, in line with his position as ship's commander. When the crew of Marek Cwiklak, who had been promoted to lieutenant, achieved first place among all PRL naval fighting ships and very high marks in the "Reda-83" exercises, it gave him special satisfaction. Special certificates even were granted to the ship's commander and to some of its crew members. Naval Lieutenant Marek Cwiklak's subordinates likewise implemented exemplarily last year's other program tasks at sea, despite very unfavorable hydrometeorological conditions.

A number of circumstances contributed to the victory in the competition, especially the very good and good marks obtained for the quality of performance of program tasks and a high grade for outstanding training. Suffice it to say that when their victory was announced, almost the entire crew (except for two of the newest sailors) was composed of class specialists, most of whom were first-or second-class specialists. Four representatives of the professional cadre on this ship were distinguished with the silver badge of "Model Commander," while the ship's boatswain, Naval Warrant Officer Wojciech Howadek, earned the bronze badge of "Model Subunit Head."

It likewise should be stressed that most of the crew members, especially those in electromechanics, belong to Socialist Service Teams. Three ship's departments possessed the title of leaders in the OP [expansion unavailable] groups: the quartermaster's department, the electromechanical department (commanded by specialist first-class, Naval Lieutenant Zbigniew Bojanowski, possessor of the silver badge of "Model Commander") and the communications department (under Naval Lieutenant Stanislaw Kania).

The "Kondor's" present title of leading ship probably could not have been achieved without the considerable participation of Naval Lieutenant Marek Cwiklak. His skillful and effective training-educational work, efficient in the organizational-command sense, meets with the real approval and recognition of superiors. In fact, they recently honored him with the Silver Cross of Merit.

Despite his total involvement in his duties as ship's commander, this officer also finds time and energy for active social work. For example, he is an experienced and active party activist, a member of the party executive board at the tactical liaison level and at the last Naval Party Conference, he was chosen a member of its Party Committee. In addition to his party work, this officer is an active member of the board of the Submarine Brotherhood, which is a composite part of the Maritime League.

Marek's younger brother Ireneusz Cwiklak, in the interim, completed his studies at the WSMW Technical Faculty. He holds the rank of first lieutenant and currently heads the electromechanical department on the submarine "Bielik." He likewise possesses many important personal achievements in submarine service, including the title of specialist first-class.

Commander of Subchaser Group

Gdynia PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 6, Jun 84 pp 29-33

[Article by Reserve Commander J. Joachimczak]

[Text] Lieutenant Commander Engineer Andrzej Karwalski, Commander of the Subchaser Group

Round-numbered anniversaries generally incline one to deeper reflections and recollections, to think back to the past with which the more important facts and occurrences are linked. For the subchaser group commander such as Lt Commander Engineer Andrzej Karwalski, they are associated with the 40th anniversary of People's Poland currently being celebrated. Here he was brought up, acquired his profession and works. He completed his studies in the Officers' Faculty of the Heroes of Westerplatte WSMW and attained his first officer's rank. There then unfolded before the young graduate of the institution the stage of professional military service performed directly at sea, a direction in which he had decided much earlier to take his future and life plans. Being at the top of his class, he earned the privilege of choosing the place in which he would serve. Of the many offerings, Karwalski found the subchasers to be the most alluring. Thus, he requested assignment to the group of ships of this class.

When questioned about the motives underlying this decision, he answered: "I think that service on subchasers is more interesting than service on trawlers or other above-water ships, for example. Their designation and basic task, to seek out and overcome submarines, contain a certain spirit and the hunting accents associated with the chase. As in the hunt, one must know how to track down the enemy and strike at just the right moment. While I am not really a hunter, this attracted me. Activities of this type satisfy many emotions and lead one to think quickly and logically. It is also possible to outwit the enemy by maneuvering the subchaser properly or even by making use of subterfuge, precisely to prevent the enemy from eluding a blow. I thought I would begin my service at sea, like many of my colleagues, in the position of commander of a ship's department. Thus, I was somewhat surprised when I was told in the group that I would fill the then vacant position of second-in-command of the DS-364 [expansion unavailable], a higher and more responsible post. I did not expect this to happen. At first, I even had doubts and fears about my ability to cope with my new tasks. I was still an inexperienced novice in service on ships of this class with only theoretical knowledge of them without concrete contact. I had had my practical training on other ships. Nor were subchasers the subject of my thesis. Thus, my fears were warranted. But what could I do? I simply had to get to work and set about doing my duties as rapidly and as competently as I could."

The results of the young officer's strenuous work soon became evident. After 3 months, he passed his exam successfully. This allowed him to execute the sea watch independently. Karwalski's performance of this duty ahead of schedule was in some sense a question of ambition and honor, for he no longer felt himself merely a "passenger." From that time on he was aware that the results of the sea tasks performed by the subchaser crew depended on him as well.

Naval Second Lieutenant Engineer Andrzej Karwalski's next important achievement occurred one year after he came on board the subchaser, when he gained the right to command independently a ship of this class. The opportunity for this occurred in July 1972, when the red-and-white flag was raised on a new subchaser that was being placed into service in the PRL Navy. Andrzej Karwalski became commander of this new ship. Within a few weeks, the crew under him was able to complete the ship's program of tasks for the entire year, with a general rating of good.

That was a very good year for the officer for three major reasons. First, he became commander of the DS-357, newly placed into service at sea, and in record time successfully implemented the first tasks placed before him. Then, in the fall of that year, participating in a competition for the title of best navigator in the navy, Karwalski overcame all his rivals and gained the master's title in the group of ship's commanders and those second-in-command. Yet another reason for personal satisfaction was the promotion he received to the next, higher military grade, that of naval lieutenant.

Meanwhile, in the following year, an unprecedented achievement of the ship commanded by him was the earning by the DS-357 of the title of best naval subchaser. Thus, in less than 2 years from its placement into the service of the "line," it already dominated all other ships in its class. This was determined primarily by its superior results in ZOP [Submarine Group?] tasks, firing tasks and special tasks, by the level of discipline of the crew and by results in the area of outstanding training. Most crew members were class specialists and holders of the "Model Sailor" badge. Without question, Naval Lieutenant Engineer Andrzej Karwalski's share in this achievement was considerable. In the interim, he had managed to gain much experience in teaching-training work with his subordinates, although the extent of this experience was considerably more modest by comparison with that of the commanders of ships who had served for a longer time. He was also younger than they, for at 28 years of age, he was the youngest ship's commander in the subchaser group at that time.

The list of his personal achievements grew, as he was once again awarded the title of best naval navigator among the group of ship's commanders and those second-in-command in 1973. It also should be noted that the ZDO [expansion unavailable] from this subchaser, Naval Second Lieutenant Engineer Jerzy Lesniewski, who was directly under Karwalski, at that time achieved the position of MW [naval] vice-master.

It is difficult to say whether, in the following year, 1974, the DS-357 crew would have repeated its success, strengthening the position it had attained as leader of the subchaser group. It is very possible. For very valid reasons, however, Naval Lieutenant Engineer Andrzej Karwalski ceased commanding this ship. This was required by a medical commission that found the above to be necessary due to recurrent complications in the officer's health, following a blow suffered years before. Thus it happened that temporarily he was deprived of the possibility of continuing to serve on subchasers.

He returned to the subchasers at the beginning of 1980, but in a different service position. Initially he assumed the duties of the group chief of staff, becoming its commander after somewhat more than 2 years. In the interim, the military ranks of Karwalski also had changed. Today he is a lieutenant commander.

In addition, he tried twice again (during the period of his separation from the DS group), with varying success, to compete in the annual competition for the title of master in marine navigation. Once, in 1974, he attained first place among the group of navigators, and another time he achieved the title of naval vice-master.

The year 1982, in which Lt Commander Engineer Andrzej Karwalski became commander of the subchaser group, also was memorable for him because he received the Silver Cross of Merit. This fact greatly pleased the officer and gave him cause for personal satisfaction. Nor was the following year of 1983 without its sources of such feelings. Already as the year began, the group commander was gratified by the high marks achieved by the ships under him in training tasks implemented at sea. In such broader-scale exercises as "Reda--83" and "Sojuz--83," the subchaser crews also distinguished themselves in the very good performance of their tasks. Another indicative fact is the complimentary assessment of the achievements of the individual group granted by the MON [National Defense Ministry]-level inspection commission in nearly all fields of service activity.

The importance of these and many other positive phenomena and facts was very significant. To a great extent, they led to an increase in the chance for the group to take the leading position in the competition that was underway among our naval vessels. This became conclusive after the results of an entire year's competition were summarized. These showed that the subchaser crews had outstripped all the competition, ensuring them first place for the title of leading group of naval ships for last year.

On the date that the preceding decision of the competition committee was announced, almost 90 percent of the personnel of the victorious group were class specialists. The majority were higher-level class specialists in the second or first class, or even in the distinguished master's class, as in the case of the officers Leszek Cichosz, Witold Gabriel and Krzysztof Wojcik. It should be emphasized that the subchaser group commander is a dual first-class specialist, first as commander and second as navigator. All members of the professional cadre of this group are class specialists. Ten of these have earned the "Model Commander" badge.

By virtue of the victory achieved by the subchaser group of submarines, it took into its possession the naval commander challenge cup, a symbolic ship's bell with the appropriate inscription attached. A large number of people that had a special part in the impressive success of the group received individual recognition. They included Lt Commander Engineer Andrzej Karwalski, who received the officer's sword engraved with a commemorative dedication by navy commander, Admiral Ludwik Janczyszyn.

--Will his team be able to repeat this success this year? In answering this question, the officer agreed that it is possible. However, he supplemented his statement by saying that this depends on the people themselves, on their attitudes, actions and unerring will. Obviously, we would like to keep the position we have attained. I know, however, that this will be neither easy nor uncomplicated. Others likewise have the aspirations and circumstances to be in the lead. Thus, our achievement of the intended goal will be made more difficult by them. The next few months will tell who has come out on top in this battle...

What remains to be added to the personality of the subchaser group commander? Primarily that he is continuing to upgrade his qualifications in correspondence studies at the second level in WSMW. He expects to finish these studies next year. It is also worth knowing that Lt Commander Engineer Andrzej Karwalski is a PZPR activist who has belonged to the party for over a dozen years. Thus far he has been POP [Primary Party Organization] secretary several times. Moreover, holding the delegate's mandate, he has represented our naval personnel at the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress and at the recent All-Poland Party Conference that deliberated in Warsaw. Currently, he is also a member of the Central Party Control Commission.

It requires tremendous effort and self-denial on the part of the commander to reconcile all of his duties. Thus, it is no surprise that the amount of time he puts in at work far exceeds the generally accepted norm. Sometimes it is 12 or more hours.

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ROMANIA

LAO LEADERS' MESSAGE ON HOLIDAY

AU041459 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Aug 84 p 4

[Greetings message from Kaysone Phomvihane, secretary general of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and prime minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and Souphanouvong, president of the republic and chairman of the Supreme People's Council, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, and to the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Nicolae Giosan, on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

To Comrade Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the occasion of celebrating the 40th anniversary of the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on behalf of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, of the Supreme People's Council, the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Lao people, and on our own behalf, we convey sincere greetings to you and through you to the RCP, the Grand National Assembly, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to the Romanian people.

Forty years ago, under the circumstances of the decisive victory of the Soviet Red Army, the communists and the heroic Romanian people achieved a historic victory by defeating Hitlerite fascism and completely liberating the country, thus opening the way to the building of socialism on Romanian soil. During the entire period of safeguarding and building their country, led by the RCP, the Romanian people were able to overcome all difficulties and withstand all reactionary maneuvers, which sought to eliminate the results of the Romanian revolution, the people equipped socialist Romania with developed industry and agriculture, advanced and modern culture science, and technology, a strong system of national defence, and improved continuously their living standards.

As a member of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA, the Socialist Republic of Romania is firmly situated on the side of fraternal countries of the socialist community in the struggle for peace, friendship, and fruitful cooperation in Europe and in the world, which increases its role and prestige in the international arena. The great achievements attained by the Romanian people in the last 40 years have contributed to the strengthening of socialist forces and of the workers' worldwide struggle against imperialism and reactionary forces, for peace, independence democracy, and social progress.

We take the opportunity of this happy occasion to wish you complete success.

Laos and Romania have always had ties of friendship and solidarity and mutual support and aid. Their struggle for national salvation against imperialism and colonialism in the past, as well as in the struggle for safeguarding and building socialism today, the Lao people have enjoyed the support and help of the RCP, of the government, and of the fraternal Romanian people. We take this opportunity to renew our feelings of gratitude and express our sincere thanks for the support and help you granted to us. We are firmly convinced that the friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between our parties, governments, and Lao and Romanian peoples, based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will continuously strengthen and develop for the benefit of our peoples and for the cause of peace and socialism.

On this happy occasion, we would like to wish the Romanian people ever greater successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, which aim to turn Romania into a powerful country in every respect, thus ensuring happiness and prosperity.

Kaysone Phomvihan, secretary general of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and prime minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Souphanouvong, president of the Republic and chairman of the Supreme People's Council of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

CSO: 2700/263

BORBA NOTES POSITIVE SIGNS PRIOR TO CROATIAN CHURCH CONGRESS

[Editorial Report] With a view toward the 8-9 September 1984 Croatian National Eucharist Congress, the 22, 23, and 24 August 1984 issues of BORBA (Belgrade, pages 4, respectively) published two articles signed by Petar Segvic, a frequent writer on religious questions, and a concluding unsigned article on "The Catholic Church Today." The first article quotes from the church bulletin NAS SINOD on the weaknesses, inadequacies, and slowness of the church in strengthening and furthering religious family life and religious teaching. It concludes from this self-criticism that "it is not strange that the church hierarchy knows the big secret for its weakness; that is, of course, one of the reasons that it finds new forms for achieving greater success.... As a result, it is using methods which in essence are less religious and which rush headlong toward big scenarios and spectacles, most often linked to national history...." In these events, moreover, Segvic says, the participation of high church leaders is stressed, while the number of the faithful is considered of far less interest.

The second article notes that the main Catholic paper GLAS KONCILA (Zagreb) recently published two articles discussing the recurring question of church membership precluding LCY membership or political action. It approvingly cites Slovenian theologian Stres's assertion that, in fact, believers have little interest in becoming party members. On the other hand, the author of the GLAS KONCILA articles, Ante Badurina, is quoted as saying that opportunities for action within the Socialist Alliance should be used to better advantage and suggests that the Yugoslav Bishops Conference form a church-state commission to this end. Badurina said that SAWPY now offers to believers a kind of "comfort, a game, a pastime, a political surrogate," and one should not entertain "illusions about real changes which could be made in this area."

While protesting this last statement, the concluding article in this series favorably mentions again the GLAS KONCILA articles as opening up a dialogue on the question of believers and politics, and as "attempting to prepare the ground for creating a joint commission of church and state" that would not be a commission of political partners but rather one with a "specialized character."

As background to this year's Congress, the concluding article pointedly discusses the intention (not carried out) of Cardinal Stepinac to hold the first such congress in 1941; noting also disapprovingly, a number of recent nationalist statements by church leaders and publications. As a general conclusion, however, it discerns positive signs of progress and self-criticism apparent in preparations for the Congress which, it adds, is to be a "kind of forerunner to a possible visit by the pope to this country." "We believe that we have come to the point where the ideological background of the congress has matured.... Something is changing in a progressive since and, with the relatively calming influence of the Vatican on the militant part of the episcopate leaders in our country, we can say that the path of progress is increasingly evident...to the Catholic Church in our country."

CSO: 2800/483

WESTERN COMMENT ON CROATIAN CHURCH CONGRESS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by Viktor Meier]

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 10 Sep.--The national Croatian shrine to the Virgin, Marija Bistrica, was filled early Sunday with huge masses of people, certainly over 150,000. Up to noontime, long after the celebrations began, long lines of believers were streaming from the improvised parking lot to the site of the pilgrimage. No one had expected such a large number.

What was striking was the large number of young people who came in droves to celebrations such as this; one saw endless lines of young people who were walking through the area all night.

The regime in Croatia shows a certain nervousness toward the strengthening church. The internal division of this regime, however, also leads to differing attitudes. On the whole, this time the view prevailed to act correctly and considerately toward the church event. The regime has to acknowledge the strength of the church. But one knows that there are also other currents among the Croatian communists. Proof of this are the increasingly extreme outbursts of the old Blazevic who was prosecutor in the trial against Cardinal Stepinac and also...the various disruptive attempts in certain villages in regard to transportation [on the occasion of the Congress].

Those in the church who organized the event at Marija Bistrica carefully avoided any nationalist tones. Great attention was given to the fact that Cardinal Kuharic during the opening ceremony in the Zagreb Cathedral, as well as in his sermon at Marija Bistrica, mentioned the name of the Serbian Patriarch German who had sent a representative. Kuharic stressed his desire for good relations with the Serbian church. This tone was certainly facilitated by the fact that the Serbian Patriarch had spoken very objectively and conciliatorily shortly before at the opening of an Orthodox memorial church at the former Ustashe concentration camp near Jasenovac. One has the impression that a rapprochement is slowly beginning between the two churches.

Also the pope in his message to the faithful at Marija Bistrica advocated dialogue between the different religious believers in the Yugoslav multinational state. The large number of foreign bishops, in addition, reflected

an openness to the world and alliance with the other European countries which can only be of advantage to the Croatian church.

By various sides, also in the West, Cardinal Kuharic is sometimes criticized for being "undiplomatic" and too direct. The Cardinal, it seems, has in the meantime understood that only the inner strength of the church and its rootedness in the people can create the pre-conditions for making requests on the state power. Kuharic has never so clearly as now at Marija Bistrica demanded full freedom of religion and equality in public life for believers, as well as state respect for the most important church holidays. The believers, on the other hand, obviously felt heartened to see such an enormous number of believers assembled.

The Croatian Catholic Church will likely try to continue on its road of alliance with the people and nation. The next great event could be a visit by the pope perhaps in about a year. The church can look upon the great response among the youth as an especially important sign for the future. Zagreb television gave a very objective report from Marija Bistrica Sunday evening.

CSO: 2300/649

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO COLOMBIA--By decision of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Uroz Markic, republican counsellor in the executive council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, has been appointed ambassador of the SFRY to the Republic of Colombia. Uroz Markic was born on 28 October 1927, in Ljubljana. He graduated from the classical secondary school and the economic faculty in Ljubljana. Prior to 1970 he worked in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. From 1970 to 1973 he was assistant republican secretary for the economy and, then, republican undersecretary in the executive council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. From 1973 to 1978, he was counsellor for economic affairs in the SFRY Embassy in Rome. Then as republican counsellor in the executive council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia he worked in the republican committee for international cooperation. In the Alps-Adriatic working community, he was representative of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on one of the coordinating commissions and on the commission for economic issues, which he chaired for 2 years. At the time of his appointment as SFRY ambassador to Colombia he was also a member of the commission of the Federal Executive Council for cooperation with the developing countries and a member of the managing committee of the foundation for solidarity with the non-aligned and developing countries. He is a member of the commission for minority and emigration issues in the republican conference of the Socialist Association of Working People of Slovenia. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Aug 84 p 2]

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